

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

From the Earliest Times

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With a Preface By

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

ON first going to Kathiawad to take charge of the Political Agency of Sorath, I was much handicapped for lack of a history of the province. The various gazetteers were both obsolete and inadequate, and knowledge of the many intricate problems had to be acquired slowly—mainly from local sources. It soon became apparent that Kathiawad was one of the most important provinces in the India of former days. Its position, constituting a salient on the western coast, rendered its good harbours the most accessible to ancient traders from the west and north-west. The result was that the fertile land of Saurashtra and the seaports around the Gulf of Cambay became great *entrepôts* for the products of India, as well as for those goods brought by the merchants of the western world.

In this volume I have tried—I fear with many shortcomings, partly due to absence on active service in France—to write the history of its countries and peoples. There have been so many complex happenings, each, maybe, insignificant in itself, but having some bearing on the development of the country, that to include them all, and to make at the same time an interesting picture, I have written primarily for the chief and people of Kathiawad, and my pleasant labour will not have been in vain if the book is of any service to those among whom I spent so many happy days : secondly, for those students of Indian History, who may find some facts of interest or of historical value ; and, finally, for the general reader, whose interest may be quickened by the doings of India during the Great War.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

To Mr. Vithalrai Himatram, I.S.O., Daftardar to the Agent to the Governor in Kathiawad, I am indebted for many stories, legends, and facts. The benefit of his wide knowledge and experience, acquired during a period of over thirty years of Government service, has proved most helpful to me.

H. WILBERFORCE-BELL

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PREFACE

WHEN the important part played by the Province of Kathiawad in the history of the Rajputs and of Western India is borne in mind, it is extraordinary how little has been written on the subject. In the present work we have an attempt to bring within the covers of one book a synoptic view of the history of Kathiawad from prehistoric times down to the present day. Captain Wilberforce-Bell, the author, has evidently used to good purpose the very little spare time which falls to the lot of political officers serving in the province, and the pages of his book bear testimony to a very considerable amount of research work on his part as well as to a capacity for bringing together events in such a manner as to present, as far as possible, a consecutive story of the diverse races which from time to time have entered and either passed through, or settled in, this interesting peninsula.

The geographical position of Kathiawad accounts for the circumstance that, with the exception of the Punjab, it has been the most frequented thoroughfare into India of India's early invaders. Scythians, Greeks, Rajputs and Mahomedans have utilized this Western promontory of India as the doorway to the promised land. If early historians may be believed, some of these invaders settled contentedly in what were then the rich plains of the province, while others passed on their way into the heart of India or retreated, after devastating the country. But the result has been that there is hardly a

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clan of Rajputs in Rajputana which does not either trace its origin through this province or claim connexion with it either through conquest from the north or through intermarriages.

In Chapter IV Captain Bell deals with what is known as the Walabhi dynasty of Rajputs and gives a fairly comprehensive account of the condition of that dynasty during a period of some three hundred years. It would have been interesting, had it been possible, for the author to trace the connexion between Walabhipura and Rajputana more directly than has been possible with the space at his disposal. Readers of Tod's "Rajasthan" will remember some of that great historian's speculations in connexion with the rise of the Sisodia clan of the Rajputs, and will remember how Bappa Rawal claimed descent from a race having its first Indian habitat at or near Walabhipura, or, as Captain Bell calls it, Walabhinagar. It is to be hoped that some future investigator, with the constantly increasing materials which become or may become available, will see his way to tracing more closely than has been done in this book the chain connecting the oldest clans of Rajputana with the early invaders who passed through Kathiawad and Sind.

As we come down to more modern times, it is possible to be more precise in the matter of tracing origins ; and in Chapter VI Captain Bell has given an interesting account of the coming of the Jhala Rajputs, as handed down traditionally in Kathiawad. He indicates there that the Jhalas, through their habitat in Sind, are probably able to claim Greek descent, but, even if this hypothesis was not proved to be established, it is fairly clear that this race was at all events intermingled with the Greek dynasties of the Sind valley and North-Western Punjab.

In connexion with the advent of the Kathis to Kathiawad, which took place about the eleventh century, the

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author is able incidentally to indicate the extraordinary difficulty in making a consecutive narrative of the stirring events which have occurred in the province. One race after another, either ejected from elsewhere or impelled by the lust of conquest, made its irruption into the peninsula ; and the action of the Marathas in changing the old name of Saurashthra to Kathiawad was perhaps justified by the circumstance that from the time of the incursion of the Kathis in the eleventh century, they have been the most constant factor in the kaleidoscopic events of the province. It is not necessary, perhaps, to attach unqualified credence to the rumours regarding the origin of this interesting race ; but it is of importance, even at the present day, to have some knowledge of the traditions which resulted in some of the most curious tribal customs obtaining in India. Thus, the marriage customs of the two chief branches of the Kathis, the Sakhayat and the Awaratya, are full of interest to historians of feudal times ; and, though one need not agree in holding that they indicate a model of democracy, at all events they form a system which was exceedingly well adapted to render possible the continuance of a social system based on the principle of equal division of property, as opposed to the system of primogeniture. Difficult problems come up for decision at the present day directly arising from these marriage customs. A member of the Sakhayat, or landowning, branch of the Kathis invariably marries into the Awaratya or landless class. A male Awaratya marries a female Sakhayat, and she brings with her to him a marriage portion from the landed estate of her father sufficient to maintain her in requisite dignity during the period of her lifetime. On her decease that marriage portion lapses again to the landed estate of her father's family.

The events narrated in this work demonstrate the

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extraordinary difficulties which confronted the British Government when circumstances, and the treaties with the Peshwa and Gaekwad, compelled our intervention in the early days of the nineteenth century. In his work on the "Protected Princes of India," the late Sir William Lee-Warner described the position of the native States of India when the *Pax Britannica* was imposed as analogous to that of stormy waters suddenly petrified into the shapes which they had taken at the moment of our intervention. It was Colonel Walker's business, in fact, to settle matters in such fashion that, so far as practicable, the position and powers of the various States in Kathiawad should remain precisely as they were at the moment of our coming, and to effect agreements perpetuating, with due regard to just claims, the actual facts of the situation as he found them. But it can quite easily be imagined that, though his work was performed with extraordinary skill and with a wonderful degree of accuracy in regard to rights and titles, there remain to the present day questions for adjustment in reference to periods even antecedent to 1808. An interesting instance of the survival of difficulties and troubles owing to the constant disturbances prevailing during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries is one of the consequences of the events in the State of Jamnagar which are described in Chapter XII of this work.

Enough has been said to give some idea of the breadth and diversity of the interests which surround the history of the province of Kathiawad. It is a merit of the present work that it brings into focus and presents in the form of a consecutive narrative events which, though occurring in one corner of India, had their origin, and often their ultimate results, in far distant parts of Asia and even Europe. The book is one which should be perused by, and hold the interest of, all those who are engaged in

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political work in India as well as all students of the evolution and development of the country. It summarizes our knowledge, so far as it has extended, of the traditions and facts of the past, and it is perhaps not too much to hope that it will stimulate other officers of Government, who may have the opportunity, to further research with a view to adding to the information at our disposal. All lovers of the Province of Kathiawad and of its chiefs and people will, as I do, give a cordial welcome to Captain Wilberforce-Bell's book ; and I feel sure that those chiefs themselves will gratefully recognize the service which the author's industry has done to their most interesting country.

C. H. HILL

May 28, 1915

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTORY

ON the West of India, between the Gulfs of Kachh and Cambay, the ancient and once famous country of Kathiawad projects peninsula-like into the Arabian Sea. Kathiawad is the Holy Land of Western India, and from the earliest times of which we have knowledge it was "the country flowing with milk and honey" towards which merchants from Arabia, Turkey, Northern Africa, and South-Eastern Europe directed their ships and acquired the wealth to be obtained from trade with the Indies. To the Greeks and Romans the country was known as "Saurastrē," and its present name is of very recent origin. "Saurashtra," the Good Country, which was the name by which it was known all through the ages, in the middle of the eighteenth century gave place to the present appellation. For this the Marathas are responsible, for they re-named the country after the tribe from which they experienced the strongest opposition when engaged in plundering expeditions. The Kathis themselves are a comparatively recent importation, who settled in Saurashtra in the fifteenth century after having been driven out of Kachh. The Mahomedan conquerors shortened the name to the Prakritized "Sorath," and the Southernmost of the four districts into which the country is now divided still retains that name. But learned inhabitants still apply the name "Saurashtra" to the whole province.

It was only in A.D. 1808 that the British Government

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began to make good its footing in Kathiawad, since which time it has been variously divided into separate administrative divisions. There are now but four of these, known respectively as Jhalawad (or the enclosure of the Jhala Rajputs), Halar, Sorath, and Gohelwad (the enclosure of the Gohel Rajputs). With the exception of the civil stations forming the headquarters of the British political officers in each of the four districts, Kathiawad consists entirely of Native States—some large and some very small—and the senior British representative, known as the Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kathiawad, resides at Rajkot, which is the administrative capital of the province. The total area of Kathiawad is about 22,000 square miles, while its greatest breadth is 215 miles, and the greatest length about 160. It is bounded on the North by the Gulf of Kachh, and on the South and West by the Arabian Sea. The Gulf of Cambay forms the Eastern boundary of the peninsula, and between the Gulfs of Kachh and Cambay it lies contiguous to Gujarat. Under the Mahomedans, Kathiawad was considered as forming part of Gujarat, and was under the control of the Viceroy of that province. The country is very flat and very fertile, but the principal among its hills are historical as well as geographical landmarks. In the West the Barda * Hills contain the ancient town of Ghumli, or Bhumli, once the capital of the Jethwa Rajput rulers of that part. In the Southern part of the peninsula are the famous and very holy hills of Girnar, Datar and Palitana, whilst farther towards the East the Sihor range occupies a considerable portion of what is now the State of Bhavnagar. The hills of the Gir Forest run parallel with the sea between (but to the South of) the hills of Girnar and Palitana.

Of the rivers, the principal is the Bhadar, which rises

* A Sanskrit word meaning "backbone," so called from the position the hills occupy.

SOME PHYSICAL FEATURES

in the Mandhav Hills in the centre of the province and flows South-West until it reaches the sea at Navi Bandar, in Porbandar State. Its length is nearly 120 miles, and the land on both sides is extremely fertile. The Shetrungi River rises in the Gir Forest, and flowing Eastward through Palitana, empties itself into the Gulf of Cambay. The Aji takes its rise near the centre, and flows Northward past Rajkot, emptying itself into the Gulf of Kachh. There are also other rivers of lesser size and importance, and Kathiawad is decidedly a well-watered province. It is remarkable, however, that all the oldest remains are to be found in the South and South-East, and that portion is undoubtedly more full of ancient historical associations than any other part. In fact, it may safely be assumed that the remainder of Kathiawad was at the best sparsely inhabited when the Southernmost portions were the home of an ancient and advanced civilization. The probabilities are that except for these portions the country was one of forest alternating with waste land, and the borders of civilization were marked by the Bhadar River in the North, and the holy places of Madhavpur and Tulsishyam on the West and East respectively. Along the coast were the seaports which attracted merchants from all parts, and which formed emporiums for trade, of such importance that it is difficult indeed to realize what their renown as such must have been.

The identifications of the towns mentioned by Alexandrian merchants of the first and second centuries have not yet been altogether satisfactorily established, and conjecture has been chiefly resorted to by those eminent archæologists * who have endeavoured to trace places from a similarity of names. One town alone seems to be identified without much possibility of doubt. The "Monoglosson" of Ptolemy (A.D. 161) has undergone several changes before attaining its modern name of

* Dr. Lassen, Colonel Yule, Dr. Vincent.

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“Mangrol.” Even now the correct name of Mangrol is “Manglor,” but a century or so ago this was found to create so much confusion owing to an important seaport on the Malabar coast of South India bearing a similar appellation, that a change was effected, and the “Manglor” of Saurashtra became effectively transformed by the transposition of a couple of letters.

The site of the city of Saurashtra, capital of the province, has never been satisfactorily determined, but there can be little doubt that it is either Wamansthali (the modern Wanthali) or Prabhas Patan, which has in modern times given place to Verawal, its neighbouring town, as a port. Dr. Lassen fixes on the modern Junagadh as this site, but this is most unlikely, as for centuries the capital town of the Chudasama Ras of Junagadh was Wanthali, which is distant about eight miles from Junagadh. Junagadh is indeed a very ancient site, and there are many remains of antiquity to be seen at and near it. But the ancient town can have been but for defence, and one of the headquarters of Buddhism. Its very situation precludes it from being a trading mart, and, moreover, it does not stand on or near any river. The site of Bardaxima Colonel Yule identifies with the modern Porbandar, which is not so ancient a town as Shrinagar, a few miles distant. The Barda Hills are hard by, and it may be assumed that the similarity in names points to some connexion between the two. The most ancient town in the Barda Hills is Ghumli, now but a mass of ruins. But it is unlikely this is the site Bardaxima stands for, the case of Ghumli being similar to that of Junagadh as regards its being a place of defence. It is most likely that Shrinagar could trace its descent from Bardaxima, were historical records available. The identification of “Barake” presents many difficulties. Both Dr. Lassen and Colonel Yule believe it to be the modern Dwarka. But in doing so they lose sight of the

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fact that the original Dwarka, to this day known as Mul-Dwarka, lay on the coast about twenty miles East of Verawal. Beyond its name, the site appears to possess no historical associations, and has only a very small temple to mark it. Moreover it lies on an open and sandy shore, with no traces of a harbour, nor even the possibilities of such. Further Eastward, however, and about twelve miles beyond Jafrabad, is situated an ancient harbour, now known as Bherai. "Barake" and "Bherai" bear much more resemblance towards each other than do "Barake" and "Dwarka." From the Mahabharat we learn that on the death of Krishna the original Dwarka was destroyed by a tidal wave.

The Baiones Insula Colonel Yule identifies with Piram Island. An island equally as old, and forming one of a group of three opposite Bherai harbour, is Shial (or Jackal) Island. Of late years many ancient remains have been found on Shial, and idols and other relics of former days are continually being unearthed. The three islands forming the group are connected by a rocky strip at low tide, and if, as is possible, "Baiones" is used in the plural, nothing is more likely than that the Shial Island group is referred to by ancient writers. Where all is conjecture one theory is of as much value as another.

At some very remote period Kathiawad was undoubtedly an island. Running almost North and South, and forming a connecting link between the Rann of Kachh and the Gulf of Cambay, is a strip of undulating country known as the "Nal" or "Watercourse." There is every indication of its having at one time formed the bed of some mighty river, and there can be little doubt in the conjecture that the Indus River, which has so often changed its course, and whose eccentricities are notorious, once entered the ocean by way of the Gulf of Cambay. Another interesting point worthy of notice is that in Kathiawad alone of all the hundreds of thousands

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of square miles of which India consists, are lions now to be found. Cut off from the mainland, evidently in some far distant age, they throve in the forests of Kathiawad, while their species over the remainder of India died out or became exterminated ; surviving, however, in one or two localities until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

There is little doubt also that Kachh was formerly considered to be part of Saurashtra, though known separately as "Anarta." When the Walabhi kings reigned at Wala, this was the case, but with the fall of that dynasty in about A.D. 766, Kachh became entirely separated. From Chinese writings it would appear that in the fifth and sixth centuries Gujarat also formed part of Saurashtra. The Chinese traveller, Hiouen Tsiang, who came to Wala about A.D. 640, recorded the fact that the boundaries of Saurashtra extended as far as the Mahi River and that its circumference measured 1200 miles. Within such boundaries the part now known as Gujarat found a place.

Of the original race inhabiting Kathiawad we have few traces, and such as exist are merely those contained in the old Jain writings or other similar records. Much reliance, however, cannot be placed on these semi-mythical works, which record that the earliest inhabitants were a race of demons ! From the ancient Puranas, and other works of like nature, we are able to gather a few putative facts about Kathiawad in so far as they have bearing on Shri Krishna's connexion with that land of Hinduism. We learn from those that in very ancient times—variously computed as being between the years 1000–1200 B.C. and 3000–4000 B.C.—there ruled in Saurashtra a king of the Solar Race, Rewat by name, at the time when Shri Krishna was driven out of Mathura by Jarasandha, King of Magadh, and went to Dwarka. There is also a story concerning the marriage of Baldeo, Krishna's brother,

SOME HOLY PLACES

with Rewati, daughter of King Rewat. From the Mahabharat we read that after having ruled for several years in Dwarka, Krishna, to celebrate an occasion of festival, went to Prabhas Patan, then the Mecca of Hindu pilgrims, with a large party of family members. At Patan a quarrel arose among them, which ended in a fight in which many were killed. After witnessing the deaths of so many kinsmen, he became exhausted and lay down under a Pipal tree by the side of a reservoir which was near. While he slept, a hunter named Jaras, mistaking him from a distance for a deer, put arrow to bow, and with a well-aimed shot killed him. The site of this tragedy is still marked, and can be seen between the towns of Verawal and Patan in the Junagadh State. At Madhavpur, a coast town between Verawal and Porbandar, Krishna was married to Rukmini, daughter of Bhishmak.

And so, from time immemorial, Kathiawad has been the land to which all good Hindus, who could take advantage of the blessings a pilgrimage to the holy land carried, have come in countless numbers. These pilgrims have been a source of very material wealth to the province, already rich in natural resources. The sect of the Jains revere the holy hills of Palitana and Girnar, whereas Madhavpur, Tulsishyam, Dwarka, and Sudamapuri (the modern Porbandar) have attracted all Hindus of whatever denomination. Tulsishyam is sanctified on account of the hot natural springs for which it is famous, while Dwarka is renowned for its wonderful temples, chief among which, the Jagat temple, is said to have been originally built by one of the Gupta kings. Although there is little to support this theory, still a similarity between the idol it contains with one in the Temple of Krishna on Girnar, which is shown in the ancient Jain records as having been built by one of the Gupta dynasty, gives some ground for supposing that the author of the one was also the author of the other.

CHAPTER II

(327-184 B.C.)

It may be said that the history of Kathiawad is the history of India in miniature. Especially is this true when we consider that with the exception of the invasion of Alexander the Great, all descents upon India which have occurred throughout the ages have affected the province either directly or indirectly. It was not likely that a country so rich and so holy would pass unnoticed and untouched by conquest. The wealth to be acquired by possession of the prosperous seaport towns which carried on such a flourishing trade with foreign countries was not a thing to be ignored, and so the lust of wealth which could be collected by a mere raid, or by possessing its trading facilities, rendered Saurashtra a land worthy of attention.

The difficulty of tracing a connected history is as great in the case of the part of India as in that of the whole. This is so because scarcely at any time has a single ruler ruled the entire peninsula. The history of India is the history of each of its component parts, and it is but natural that that of the most prominent should in a manner do service for that of the remainder. To record connectedly the history of each separate small kingdom would be an impossibility. The sources of information are so scant that even a general connected account of the whole is marred by gaps which yet remain to be bridged. Contemporary literature is too scanty to be of much service, though an exception must be made in favour of

SOME SOURCES OF RECORD

the Chinese pilgrims, who from time to time visited the land which gave birth to Buddhism. From coins and other similar objects of archæological interest a great deal can be learnt, and these, combined with the information obtained from epigraphic inscriptions, are of the greatest value to the historian. These epigraphic inscriptions are of several kinds. In Kathiawad the Asoka Stone at Junagadh is that of most value, and from it we are enabled to form some idea of happenings in three distinct eras. The kings of Walabhi were accustomed to give grants of land by means of copper-plates bearing records of such grants. A great many of these have been recovered during the operations of well-digging, and during the construction of other irrigation works. But the want of chronological data is a constant source of difficulty. For this reason the Chinese travellers' accounts are of the greatest value. The minutest details did not escape their notice, and they recorded accurate information as to time and place in a manner which suggests they wrote accounts of their travels for the benefit of future ages. The works of the Greek writers, too, are not to be despised, for by means of them it has been made possible to form a chronological starting-point by determination of the principal dates connected with the Maurya dynasty, of which Asoka was the third Emperor of India. Of prehistoric India the lack of record leaves us almost entirely ignorant, and history may be said to have been begun by the invasion of Alexander the Great in the year 327 B.C. Having completed the crossing of the Hindu Khush and forced the passage of the Indus, he advanced as far as the Jhelum River. For various reasons he found it impossible to continue his advance into India and complete his conquest, so, after forming a Græco-Bactrian kingdom in the Punjab, he sailed with his army down the Jhelum and Indus Rivers, returning, himself with half the army by land, and the remainder of his forces under Nearchos

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

by sea, to Susa. With his death at Babylon, in 323 B.C., passed away one who might have been the first king of the whole Indian peninsula had not the difficulty of preserving intact a line of communication of enormous length through a recently conquered country necessitated such a reduction of his forces as would have left too small an army with which to subdue the nations ready to oppose his advance. Alexander did not visit Kathiawad, but he came very close to it, and very probably, indeed, reconnoitred the coast of Anarta (Kachh), which then formed part of Saurashtra.

Previous to Alexander's invasion the principal kingdom of Northern India was that of Magadh, which now forms the province of Behar. On its borders was the kingdom of Kosala, the modern Oudh, and in these two countries Buddhism took its rise. The philosopher, Gautama Buddha, died an old man in about 477 B.C., during the reign of Ajatasatru, King of Magadh, and shortly afterwards the King of Kosala, after some fighting, was worsted by his more powerful neighbour, who from that time held prior place without dispute. Kosala became part and parcel of Magadh, and the Magadh kings continued to add to their power and conquests. In about the year 434 B.C. the eighth ruler of the Magadh dynasty founded the city of Patliputra (Patna) on the site of a fort of the same name which had been built by the sixth of his line. Patliputra thus became in course of time the capital of a mighty empire. In the year 322 B.C., Chandragupta Maurya, a young adventurer of the Magadh house, raised the standard of revolt against the Greek power in the Punjab. Being successful in this venture, he turned his attention towards Magadh, from which country he had been exiled, and, having dethroned and slain the king, himself seized the throne. Raising an enormous army, he completely subjugated all Northern India as far South as the Narbada River, and appropriated the title of

THE MAURYA EMPERORS

Emperor of India. He divided the empire into four provinces, and in the Westernmost one Saurashtra was included, the headquarters of the province being at Ujjain. We learn from one of the inscriptions on the Asoka Stone at Junagadh (a translation of which will follow in its proper place) that during Chandragupta's reign Syena Pushyagupta was Governor in Saurashtra, and built the famous Sudarsana Lake, all trace of which is now lost. This man was Chandragupta's brother-in-law, and it is likely that the governors of the principal provinces constituting the kingdom were all members of the Imperial family. During the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, Megasthenes was the Græco-Bactrian ambassador at the Court at Patliputra, and from his writings we get a trustworthy account of life in Patliputra between the years 302 and 298 b.c. By Greek writers Chandragupta was known as Sandrocotus, King of the Prasii, and by them the strength and excellence of his rule, as also the main features of his efficient administration, are fully expounded. The building of the Sudarsana Lake at Junagadh serves as an example to show that even in those far-off days the question of irrigation was considered one of great importance, and that the care of the ruler for his subjects and their prosperity was far from being a negligible quantity. Chandragupta Maurya died in the year 297 b.c., and was succeeded by his son Bindusara, known to the Greeks as "Slayer of Enemies." The new Emperor reigned twenty-five years, and when he died, in the year 272 b.c., he left for his successor, Asoka, an empire even greater in extent than that which had been handed down to him on the death of Chandragupta. Of his reign and times there was no chronicler, but the Greek's name for him shows him to have followed his father's footsteps in the path of conquest.

The next Emperor of India began his administrative career as Viceroy of Western India under his father, and

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of this very remarkable man we have many records, chiefly engraved in stone. It was not until after he had reigned three years that Asoka was crowned at Patliputra, and for the first twelve years of his rule he was engaged in the peaceful administration of his dominions. Before his coronation he followed the tenets of Brahmanism, but afterwards he began to favour Buddhism, and became one of the great figures which adorned that religion. After the conquest of Kalinga, which took place in 201 B.C., Asoka determined never again to engage in pursuits which brought harm to others, but he chose instead the performance of service to mankind. His great piety manifested itself in the many sets of edicts on rock which he caused to be cut in various parts of India, and which have lasted throughout the ages. The endurance of the stone and characters is only exceeded by the excellence of the injunctions they contain. From them we get a great insight into the character of him who is perhaps the greatest figure in India's history. One of these incised rocks lies at Junagadh in Saurashtra, about one mile East of the city, on the road to the Damodarji Tank. The stone is divided into fourteen irregular parallelograms, each containing an edict. The whole is in a very good state of preservation, though the letters are in places indecipherable through having been rubbed by children engaged from countless ages in sliding down the smooth surface the rock presents. The language used is pure Magadhi, which has been translated into Prakrit, Sanskrit, and English. The several English texts vary slightly, but are essentially the same. The actual date of the inscriptions cannot be determined with accuracy. In the year 249 B.C. Asoka made a tour of the Buddhistic sacred places. He did not come to Saurashtra, however, and after visiting various places in the regions near the Himalayan Mountains, he went into what is now Nepal and thence South. In 232-231 B.C. the great Emperor died,

THE EDICTS OF ASOKA

but the place of his death has not yet been determined with certainty. His son Mahendra, and his daughter Saudhmitra, had left Ujjain when their father was Viceroy of the Western province, and had journeyed to Ceylon, where they were the means of the introduction of Buddhism into that island. Other missionaries were also sent into all the countries contiguous to the Maurya Empire, and even further afield. For in the thirteenth edict we read that the Buddhist tenets were known in Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene, and Epirus. Some writers have endeavoured to find a relationship between Buddhism and the philosophies of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, but it is doubtful whether Buddhism ever obtained any real hold in the countries mentioned above. The translation of the Edicts on the Asoka Stone at Junagadh is as follows :

EDICT ONE

This Edict is proclaimed by King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the Gods. None should here on earth slaughter any animal even for sacrifice, nor should call together festive assemblies, for in them King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the Gods, remarks many sins. Still the King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the Gods, looks with favour on the gatherings ordained by his father. In the kitchen of mine, King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the Gods, many thousands of animals were daily slaughtered for food, but to-day when this Edict is sent forth only three animals are being killed for food, two peacocks and one deer. But even this deer is not necessarily to be killed, nor even all the three shall afterwards be killed.

EDICT TWO

In the whole dominion of King Priyadarsin, the beloved of the Gods, as also in the adjacent countries such as Chola,* Pandya,† Satyaputra, Kevalputra,‡ all as far

* Kanchi.

† South India.

‡ Malabar.

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as the Tamraparni,* even in the country of Antiochus the Grecian king, and among dependent kings, King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, has ordered two things : the caring of the sick of man and the caring of the sick of cattle. And at all places where useful healing herbs for man and cattle were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted. Also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted on the roads for the benefit of men and cattle.

EDICT THREE

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, orders twelve years after his coronation that “everywhere in my dominions, whether under my direct control or in foreign lands, all my loyal subordinate officers and vassals should every five years be thus ordered, *being called together*, to go on tour for this purpose, *viz.* for carrying out this Edict and for other business as well. That it is pious or meritorious to be obedient to father and mother and to protect men of one’s own caste, to give gifts to Brahmans and ascetics, to abstain from killing living creatures and from prodigality, and to be fearless in all acts. Thus will those in my service also be tried in their attachment.”

EDICT FOUR

Since a long time past during many hundreds of years, sacrificing of animal life and inflicting sufferings on created beings, want of sympathy for caste fellows and want of respect for Brahmans and ascetics, have gone on increasing. But now the virtue which King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, practises is proclaimed far and wide with beating of drums. People have been led to virtue in a manner not known for many hundreds of years by the Edicts of King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, being called together by various things like celestial cars, elephants, fire-balls and other attractive spectacles. King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, has promoted and will promote the sparing of animal life, the gentle

* Ceylon.

ASOKA APPOINTS PRECEPTORS

treatment of created beings, respect for relatives, respect for Brahmans and ascetics, obedience to Father and Mother, obedience to elders, and many other acts of virtue. The sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, shall also increase this culture of virtue. They shall exhort to virtue, standing steadfast in virtue and morality until the end of time. To exhort to virtue is surely a very excellent work, while from the immoral no virtue is to be expected. Growth, therefore, in these things and no diminution is good. For this purpose, that they may cause the growth of this matter, and not behold its diminution, has this (Edict) been written. King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, has caused this to be written twelve years after his inauguration.

EDICT FIVE

The beloved of the Gods, King Priyadarsin, thus proclaims : to do good is difficult and he who does good does certainly a very difficult act. I have done much good. Let all my work in that behalf be carried out by my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons and others of my posterity until the end of time. They will thereby do good. He who shall cause this command to be set aside shall commit great sin. Sin in deed is easily committed. Previously there were no ministers of religion, but such officers are appointed by me in the thirteenth year of my inauguration for the purpose of presiding over morals among persons of all persuasions for the sake of increase of virtue among the people of Yavan, Kamboja, Gandhara, Rashtrika * and Pitenihen, and . . . those who may be or may not be devoted to my cause . . . for the happiness of the faithful . . . and for warding off imprisonment and capital punishment . . . they are to superintend among Government officials as among elders. Also in Patliputra and abroad . . . others of my relatives are sent everywhere. This practice which is initiated is very . . . ministers of religion. For this end has this Edict been caused to be written.

* In the South of India.

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EDICT SIX

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, says : In past times there has never yet existed care for *civil* interests nor arrangements for hearing complaints. Therefore have I instituted the same. All the time I have been reigning there have been placed everywhere persons appointed to hear complaints in the apartments of women, in sanctuaries, in parks and in similar places, in order that they should know the wants of my people and report them to me. In all respects I further the interests of my people. In whatever I declare by word of mouth . . . or whatever I entrust to my ministers or preceptors . . . I always reconsider. . . . This have I everywhere and at all times commanded. For to me there is no satisfaction in increasing litigation. Litigation is necessary only for the securing of some *civil* interest. I consider it my duty to do good to all, but would attend to quarrels only so far as they tend to settle any disputed interest. I have no other business but the little effort I am constantly doing for the good of all. Thus do I wish to discharge somehow my debt to all beings . . . *that they* may attain heaven. This Edict has been caused to be written for this purpose. Would that I should look after it for long. Let my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons after me also labour for universal good, which is difficult without the utmost exertion.

EDICT SEVEN

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, desires that everywhere the ascetics of all persuasions should dwell *in peace*. He desires in all of them self-control and purity of soul. But people have different opinions and different likings. They may do all or a part. Nevertheless for one who is not able to make large religious gifts, self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm devotion which lasts for ever, are good.

WORTHY ACTIONS ENCOURAGED

EDICT EIGHT

In past times kings went out on pleasure journeys, stag-hunting and other such recreations were in vogue. But King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, ten years after his inauguration, regards them as improper. Therefore he here regards as proper and good only those religious tours in which gifts are bestowed upon Brahmans and ascetics, elders are seen and served with presents, money is distributed, people of different countries are seen, virtue is taught, and inquiries made after it. King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, looks upon these with favour, and enjoys also all the other *pleasures* which accrue to him as the result of his deeds.

EDICT NINE

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, speaks thus : It is a fact that men do all kinds of things to assure good fortune, as well in sickness as at betrothals and marriages ; at the getting of a son as at going from home. On these and other occasions men do all kinds of things which are meant to bring prosperity. But it is a great loss to do all those manifold, multifarious, vain, and useless things. This, however, does not remove the necessity of a man's doing something which will bring prosperity, but such a kind as has been named is of little use, while true piety is of great use. To that belongs proper treatment of slaves and subordinates, reverence for masters, severe self-restraint towards human beings, sincere charity to Brahmans and Shramans. These and other like actions are called truly religious works. This must be taught by all fathers, sons, mothers, and lords. This is noble. This must a man do as something that assures prosperity until his aim is fully attained. Mention was made just above of sincere charity. Now there is no charity, no goodwill, to be compared with charity or goodwill springing from true piety. It is this which a well-meaning friend, relative, or companion must at every occurring opportunity impress on another, that this is duty and is proper. These and

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many other things, all, must be properly done for obtaining heaven. May all thus attain heaven.

EDICT TEN

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, does not regard renown and great name as any great object, for without heavy sacrifice it never stands long. Let my people follow the path of virtue and be ever pious. King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, covets renown or name only for this world, but whatever little he does is all for the next. Everything from him is without blemish, and blemish is nothing more or less than simpleness. Such a thing is indeed difficult for any one at all, be he of low or of high degree, unless with the utmost exertion by sacrificing everything. But this is indeed most difficult for one of high station.

EDICT ELEVEN

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, speaks thus : There is no charity which equals religious charity, or explanation of religious precepts or right liberality, or religious relation. Under these are included proper treatment of slaves and subordinates, sincere obedience to father and mother, sincere charity towards friends, acquaintances, and caste-fellows, giving of gifts to Brahmans and Shramans, and the sparing of animal life. This is to be commended as good, whether by father, or by son, or by friend, by an acquaintance, or by caste-fellow, or even by a neighbour. He who acts thus makes this world a friend to him, and hereafter obtains for himself an imperishable reward through all his true charity.

EDICT TWELVE

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, honours all sects, and orders of Monks, and all conditions of heads of families, and honours them and others with religious gifts and all kinds of marks of honour. Surely the beloved of the Gods does not attribute so much to religious gifts

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION ADVOCATED

or marks of honour as to this, that the good name and intrinsic worth of all sects may increase. The foundation thereof is the giving them all proper and respectful maintenance. In order that one sect may not be praised at the expense of another, and that there should be no undue neglect of any, all sects must on all occasions be honoured. For one so doing adds greatly to the merit of his own sect and at the same time encourages all others. One doing otherwise destroys his own sect, and harms others. Though every one who praises his own persuasion may perhaps do all that from attachment to his own sect, so as to glorify it, nevertheless, by so doing, he greatly injures his own persuasion. Therefore concord is the best so that all may know and willingly listen to each other's religion. Because it is the wish of the beloved of the Gods that the members of all creeds may be well instructed and obtain blessings. And to them that are attached to different persuasions let the assurance be conveyed that the beloved of the Gods does not attach so much value to religious gifts or worship as to this, that all sects may increase in good name and intrinsic worth and be reverenced. For this, ministers of religion, magistrates for the superintendence of women, superintendents to treat ascetics, and other bodies, have been appointed. And the object of this is that the beloved of the Gods' creed may increase prosperity, that he may cause virtue to come forth in full splendour.

EDICT THIRTEEN

. . . must be given. All his men have been killed, which certainly is a very cruel act. But in the Kalingas, obtained, the practice of religious virtue has grown very active . . . the killing, putting to death, or being carried away by men. Therefore the ruling of the Vedas and Angas is good. God . . . reverence to mother and father, sympathy for friends, acquaintances, assistants, caste-fellows, servants . . . that one of a caste should suffer some misery is on account of the fault of others, and they should therefore help him, and bear a share in his misfortunes . . . where men have no faith in any persuasion,

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and so long as they remain in doubt . . . neither is this possible. In the dominion of the beloved of the Gods, all forests are as little trespassed upon as possible and are thus protected . . . the preservation, self-control, and pacification of all beings . . . and gentlemen. . . . The Yawan King * and the four kings, namely Surmaya,† Antahana,‡ Maga,§ and Alikasudara.|| . . . thus in all foreign countries and everywhere is the religious injunction of the beloved of the Gods followed, where even . . . glory and glory of virtue are also similar. No joy excelled the joy consequent on the victory of virtue . . . believes nothing to be conquered, for conquest and renown are ever within reach . . . in this world and the next . . . the worship of Sweta (Buddha ?), the securing of the happiness of all.

EDICT FOURTEEN

King Priyadarsin, beloved of the Gods, has caused this righteous edict to be written, here plainly, there moderately, and in a third place at full length. Thus is everything expressed everywhere known to the great. Much has been caused to be written, and he shall cause again to write. Repetitions occur also in a certain measure on account of the agreeableness of various points, in order that the people in that way be persuaded to understand and follow them. If sometimes the one or other is written incompletely, or out of order, it is because care has not been taken to make a good transcript, or the stone-engraver is at fault.

The stone on which the above edicts are carved also contains two more inscriptions of later dates referring to the Sudarsana Lake. These will be noticed later.

The outstanding feature in the edicts is their nature. They are not a moral code, neither are they the outcome

* Antiochus, King of Syria ; died 247 B.C.

† Ptolemy II, King of Egypt ; died 246 B.C.

‡ Antigonas, King of Macedonia ; died 239 B.C.

§ Magas, King of Cyrene ; died 258 B.C.

|| Alexander, King of Epirus ; died 262-258 B.C.

THE LAST OF THE MAURYAS

of weak sentimentalism. They may scarcely be called religious tenets, yet they are based on the idea of the sanctity of all animal life, as being a part of the Supreme Being. The next prominent feature is that of sympathy for religions professed by people other than the subjects of the Magadh Empire. In fact, "Live and let live, worship and let worship," may be said to be the guiding principles of the Emperor's counsel.

Asoka was the last of the Mauryas of fame, and after his death the Empire began to dissolve. He had several children whose names have been handed down in legends, but they must have predeceased their father, for he was succeeded by his grandson Dasaratha in the year 231 B.C. From the Puranas we gather King Dasaratha ruled for eight years, and he was succeeded by five other kings, the last of whom was killed by his Commander-in-Chief, who himself usurped the Maurya throne in 184 B.C. and founded a new dynasty.

CHAPTER III

(184 B.C.—A.D. 470)

WITH the advent of the new Sunga dynasty, the history of India began again to change its course. The new king, Pushyamittra, retained his hold on the Empire he had usurped, though not without a great deal of fighting and considerable difficulty. But his successors were unable to retain their grip, with the result that after the lapse of about a century the ancient Magadh Empire became completely disintegrated.

Saurashtra appears to have remained peacefully under the rule of Pushyamittra until the year 155 B.C., when Menander, King of the Punjab and Kabul, and a relation of Eucratides, King of Bactria, (founded in Alexander's time,) became seized with a desire of emulating, and if possible surpassing, the prowess of the great Greek soldier, and marched into India. He conquered and annexed Saurashtra, and this exploit is recorded by Strabo, who calls the country "Saraostos." Menander advanced very nearly as far as Patliputra, but was finally defeated by Pushyamittra and obliged to retire. From various historical observations, however, we are enabled to infer that he still held Saurashtra and Broach for several years after his repulse, mainly from the fact that Greek coins of a later date than 153 B.C. were recorded as being current in Western India for some years.

The Sunga dynasty came to an end in 72 B.C., and in the years that intervened between the withdrawal of Greek arms from Western India and that time, various

KSHATRAPA RULE IN SAURASHTRA

upheavals were taking place in Central Asia which were destined to have a very direct influence on India. In 165 B.C. a tribe of nomads, known to history as "Yuehchi," were compelled to move from North-West China. Wandering Westwards, they encountered the Sakas, another nomadic race, between the Chu and Jaxartes Rivers. Being unable to resist the Yuehchi hordes, the Sakas were obliged to move, and selecting the point which offered least natural resistance for their new country, they entered Bactria and completely swamped and extinguished the Greek kingdom at some period between the years 140 and 130 B.C. They appear to have held only Bactria and Seistan—which became known as "Sakastene"—until the end of the Sunga dynasty in Magadh and the break-up of the Empire in about 72 B.C. About this time, it is assumed a portion of the Sakas occupied Saurashtra and founded a new Saka dynasty in that country, which was known as that of the "Satraps" or "Kshatrapas." Of these Kshatrapa rulers we have many evidences, chiefly in the form of coins, from which it has been found possible to trace their names and the order of succession of many of them. In addition to the coins we have the evidence derived from an inscription on the Asoka stone at Junagadh, which records the bursting of the Sudarsana Lake in the year 72 of the Kshatrapa dynasty, corresponding with the year A.D. 150–151. The inscription contains twenty lines recording the account of the rebuilding of a dam of the lake which had been washed away during the previous rainy season. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription reads as follows :

To the perfect one. This Sudarsana lake, being from Girinagar, is beautiful in all respects, having been supplied with an embankment all round. Strongly faced with masonry continuously in its length, breadth, and height, so as to rival the very hill region. Possessed of

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a natural causeway formed by . . . furnished with canals, etc., for the ingress and egress of water, and fed with the waters of the Palasina and Savarnasinata Rivers by embankments, etc. ; and . . . three branches, and other advantages, is in a highly flourishing condition. *This work gave way* on the first day of the dark fortnight of the month Margasirsha of the seventy-second year of Raja Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman, whose wishes are fulfilled by the *blessings of his Gurus*, the grandson of Mahakshatrapa Chastana of propitious name . . . the son of . . . in consequence of the rain having poured down in heavy showers everywhere, converting the surface of the earth as it were into one ocean ; and the excessive swelling of the currents of the Savarnasinata and Palasini and other rivers of the Urjayata Hill, and on account of a hurricane, destroying the hill tops, trees, towers, open seats, gates, places for shelter, arches, &c., raised on the bank, and resembling in its terrible force the deluge, its waters were so greatly agitated as to displace . . . stones and trees and thick expanse of creepers, etc., and split open even the very bottom of the river. The lake with all its water gone out of this passage of four hundred and twenty cubits length, and of the same breadth, and seventy-five cubits deep, appeared as if it were one in the country of Marwar . . . for the sake of . . . was caused to be made by *Vaisya Pushyagupta*, a native of the country of the Maurya Raja Chandragupta ; and was embellished with water-courses, etc., under the superintendence of Tupaspa, the Yawan Raja of Asoka Maurya. By the watercourse seen in this break, which he (Tupaspa) has had constructed, and which had been executed in a manner worthy of the King . . . the extensive bridge . . . who —the abode of royal fortune which manifested itself in uninterrupted prosperity from his childbirth, was loved on account of his virtues by all classes approaching for protection as his subjects ; who except in war had taken the true vow never in his life to kill a human being, but liberally gave blows to equal and opposing enemies . . . who was compassionate, who afforded protection to

THE SECOND INSCRIPTION

countries which surrendered themselves to him ; who was the lord of the countries such as Purvadesa, Parakara, Avanti, Anup-Nivrit, Anarta, Surashtra, S'vabhra, Maru, Katchchha, Sindh, Sauvira, Kukura, Aparanta, Nishada, etc., all people residing in whose ancient cities were not molested by thieves, snakes, ferocious beasts, or diseases—cities, which were acquired by his own valour, and the inhabitants whereof were greatly devoted to him ; who routed with great strength great heroes who would not submit from the pride of their valour well known among the Kshatriyas ; who without treachery, after twice thoroughly conquering Satakarni, lord of Dakshinapatha, did not completely destroy him, on account of their near connexion, and thus obtained glory . . . of great exploits . . . who re-established deposed kings ; who by properly raising his hand (*i.e.* in giving gifts) has often acquired great merit in religion ; who has secured great renown by his power of comprehending, retaining, knowing, and practising the great sciences of grammar, politics, singing, justice, and the like ; who was skilled in the art of riding horses, elephants, and chariots, *and who was skilled in the use of* the sword, the shield, in fighting . . . and in reducing the enemies' forces ; who was always of a charitable, courteous, and obliging disposition ; who was munificent ; whose treasury overflowed with abundance of gold, silver, diamonds, lapis-lazuli, *Vaidurya*, and jewels, acquired by just and proper taxes and duties ; whose . . . was graced by clear, simple, sweet, admirable, and appropriate *sentences in* prose and poetry ; whose beautiful form was merited with the best signs and significant turns as shown by his gait, height, voice, walk, colour, vigour, strength, etc. ; who himself acquired the title of Mahakshatrapa, protector of warriors, who won numerous garlands of flowers in the Swayamvara ceremony of the daughters of kings ; by this Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman, for cows and Brahmans for a period of one thousand years . . . and for the increase of his merit and fame with great generosity remitted taxes . . . and the people of the city and country from forced labour ; and by a liberal amount

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of money from his own treasury, in so great length of time constructed the bridge of three times the length and breadth . . . caused the most delightful lake to be made, that would last. On account of the largeness of the gap, the undertaking was forbidden by the King's advisers and executive officers, although possessed of all the qualifications of ministers, and not disinclined to encourage enterprise ; the people losing all hope of the rebuilding of the bridge, raised woeful cries, when the work was executed for obliging the people and the country by Pahlava, son of Kulaipa, and Minister Suvisakha, appointed by the King for the protection of the whole of Anarta and Surashtra . . . who, (Suvisakha,) by the proper dispensation of justice in temporal and spiritual matters, secured the love of the people ; who was powerful, kept his senses in restraint, was steady minded, unshaken, wise, unconquerable, well behaved, and who became the increaser of his master's religion, glory, and fame.

This is the most interesting and most valuable relic of those far-off days. The Western Satraps—or, as they called themselves, the “Mahakshatrapas,” or Great Kshatrapas—ruled in Western India for four hundred and fifty years, but our knowledge of their names is very limited. Valuable help in determining some of them was obtained from inscriptions found at Nasik and other places in the Bombay Presidency, and from a pillar found near Jasdan in Kathiawad ; while numismatic evidence has besides supplied or corroborated names and dates. The Jasdan stone, which is hard and dark coloured, measures 4 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft. 10 in., and was found at the village of Gadh. It contains six lines and is written in Sanskrit, and while recording the making of a “tank” it supplies us with a short genealogical tree of some of the Kshatrapas. The translation runs as follows :

In the year 127 Bhadrapada, on the seventh day
26

SOME STONE INSCRIPTIONS

of the dark half, this "Satra" of Raja Mahakshatrapa Bhadramukh Swami Rudrasena; the great-grandson of the son of Raja Mahakshatrapa Swami Chashtana; the grandson of the son of Raja Kshatrapa Swami Jaya Daman; the grandson of Raja Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman; son of Raja Mahakshatrapa Bhadramukha Swami Rudra. Of the sons of Supra Nathaka of Manasgotra, the grandson of Khara with brothers . . . was made.

A stone containing a much obliterated inscription has been found near the Uparkot (citadel) at Junagadh, which contains the names of "Raja Kshatrapa Swami Jayadaman, son of Swami Chashtana," while a fourth, dated the 103rd year after Rudradaman, has come to light at Gunda, a village twenty-five miles from Porbandar, in Jamnagar State territory. It is kept in the temple of Dwarkapuri at Jamnagar, is written in Sanskrit, and reads as follows :

In the year 103 after Raja Kshatrapa Swami Rudradaman, grandson of Raja Mahakshatrapa Swami Jayadaman, great-grandson of Raja Mahakshatrapa Swami Chashtana, on the fifth of the bright half of Vaisakh, being an auspicious day, the Nakshatra being Shrawana, Ahiru Senapati Bahaka's son, Rudrabhuti, caused *this* reservoir of water to be dug and constructed in the village of Raspadara for the benefit and comfort of all beings.

A stone discovered on the bank of a tank at Mulavasara, under Okhamandal in Saurashtra, contains more than a mere element of pathos. It now stands in the library at Dwarka, and is thus to be translated :

The son of Vanijaka saved the life of his friend by sacrificing his own life on the fifth day of the dark half of Vaisakh of the year 232 of Raja Mahakshatrapa Swami Rudrasena.

The list of the Kshatrapas, so far as is known, is very incomplete, but the names given below go a long way

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towards covering the period of their rule in Western India. It is almost certain that they continued the practice of the Mauryas in ruling from Ujjain :

1. Bhumaka.
2. Nahapana, A.D. 70.
3. Syamotika, who probably did not rule.
4. Chashtana, son of Syamotika, A.D. 90 (*Tiaστανος* of Ptolemy).
5. Jayadaman, son of Chashtana, who also apparently did not rule.
6. Rudradaman, son of Jayadaman.
7. Damajada, son of Rudradaman.
8. Rudrasinha, son of Rudradaman, A.D. 180–182.
9. Jivadaman, son of Damajada.
10. Rudrasena, son of Rudrasinha, A.D. 205.
11. Sanghadaman, son of Rudrasinha.
12. Damasena, son of Rudrasinha.
13. Isvaradatta.
14. Viradaman, son of Damasena, who did not rule.
15. Yasodaman, son of Damasena.
16. Vijayasena, son of Damasena, A.D. 218–232.
17. Damajada, son of Damasena.
18. Rudrasena, son of Viradaman.
19. Vishwasinha, son of Rudrasena, A.D. 278.
20. Bhartradaman, son of Rudrasena.
21. Vishwasena, son of Bhartradaman, who did not rule.
22. Swami Jivadaman.
23. Swami Rudradaman, son (?) of Swami Jivadaman.
24. Swami Rudrasena, son of Swami Rudradaman.
25. Swami Sinhasena, grandson of Swami Rudradaman.
26. Swami Satyasinha, grandson of Swami Rudradaman.
27. Swami Rudra(?)sena, son of Swami Sinhasena.
28. Swami Rudrasinha, son of Swami Satyasinha.

ANDHRA KINGS CONQUER SAURASHTRA

On the coins, from which alone data regarding the dynasty may be obtained, the ruling kings were sometimes called "Kshatrapas," and sometimes "Mahakshatrapas." Colonel Biddulph supposes, and probably rightly so, that before the future ruler succeeded to the throne, he was known as "Kshatrapa," and was accustomed to have coins issued in his own name during his father's lifetime, assuming the title "Mahakshatrapa" on succession.

The Kshatrapas, after deluging Western India, were not until A.D. 145 independent sovereigns, and to understand how they fell for a time into a suzerain position, it is necessary to revert to the state of affairs in India after the death of Asoka. One of the many minor kingdoms which the Mauryas compelled to acknowledge them as overlords was that of Andhra. Situated between the Godavari and Krishna Rivers, it waited but for the removal of the strong rule of the earlier kings of Magadh to assert its own independence. This opportunity came after Asoka died, when the Andhra dynasty declared its independence and embarked on a career of conquest. Advancing Westwards, it gradually extended its dominions until they stretched from sea to sea. The history of the Andhra kings is scanty, though many of their names are known.

Nahapana, the second on the list of the Saka rulers of Saurashtra, came in conflict with the Andhras in about the year A.D. 126 while endeavouring to enlarge his territories. The Andhra ruler, Vilivayahura II, was roused to anger at the Kshatrapa intrusion on his possessions by a horde of what he considered to be barbarians, and gathering together an army he overthrew and humiliated Nahapana and extended his own kingdom by including the newly conquered Saurashtra within it. He entrusted the government of the Western provinces, however, to Chashtana, who ruled as his Viceroy. The

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Kshatrapas continued to hold this subordinate position until Rudradaman, grandson of Chashtana, became Viceroy, when he, in A.D. 145, asserted his independence, and completely defeated Palumayi II, son of Vilivayahura. Instead, however, of entirely humiliating Palumayi by adding the conquered country to his own, he allowed the Andhra king to retain his territory intact, with the exception of those lands over which the Kshatrapas had previously ruled as viceroys. In doing so, he was probably guided by his affection for his daughter, Dakshamitra, whom he had formerly given in marriage to his lately conquered foe. Rudradaman thus became the ruler of Saurashtra, Malwa, and the land lying between the Western Ghats and the sea. These vast possessions were enjoyed by his successors until about the year A.D. 390.

While the power of the Kshatrapas was still in its zenith, events were taking place in Magadh which were destined once again to lead to a change of rulers over Saurashtra. It is a curious, and at the same time an unfortunate fact, that the history of India during the third century of the Christian era is almost entirely unknown. Between the second and the fourth centuries much seems to have been taking place, of which records are of the meagrest description. It is impossible to tell what happened in the once great kingdom of Magadh during these years, but we have sufficient historical material to infer that it had passed out of the hands of the weak successors of Pushyamittra. From Buddhist records we learn of a powerful tribe existing in what is now known as Tirhut, in Northern India, in the fifth century B.C., known as the Lichhavis, and for the purpose primarily of checkmating them, Ajatasatru, King of Magadh (during whose reign in 477 B.C. Gautama Buddha died) erected the fortress of Patliputra, which was destined afterwards to become a mighty city, and the capital of the Magadh Empire.

THE GUPTA DYNASTY

Of the subsequent history of the Lichhavis nothing is known until early in the fourth century A.D., when a Lichhavi princess married a small local ruler near Patliputra known as Chandra Gupta, a name similar to that borne by the first Maurya king. This lady appears to have been very influential, and the result of her marriage with Chandra Gupta was that the latter acquired himself much influence, and gradually rose from the position of a small chief into one of much greater power. How he succeeded to the throne of Magadh is unknown, but the fact remains that in the year A.D. 320 he became King of Magadh. He died in the year A.D. 326, and was succeeded by his son, Samudra Gupta, who reigned until about the year A.D. 375. Samudra Gupta greatly extended by conquest the kingdom he had inherited, but he did not include Saurashtra among the conquered lands. He was followed by his son, Chandra Gupta II, who assumed the title of "Vikramaditya"—"Sun of Power."

From the first Chandra Gupta II followed the example of his father in extending the boundaries of the Empire, and in about the year A.D. 388 he attacked Rudrasinha and added Saurashtra once more to Magadh. The bards of Kathiawad relate that Chandra Gupta II did not himself invade Saurashtra, but that he sent his son Kumara Gupta in command of the victorious army. Be this as it may, Rudrasinha was killed, and the rule of the Saka Satraps, which had lasted for 450 years, became a reality of the past.

It has not yet been found possible to construct any sort of connected idea of the condition of Saurashtra when the Gupta rule extended over the country. That it was in a state of great commercial prosperity we know, and it is likely that at no subsequent period of its history was it such a means of intercourse between Europe and Asia as at that time. The Gupta emperors were not

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slow to take advantage of this intercourse, and the stimulation given to trade had the effect of making Saurashtra the best known and perhaps one of the richest provinces under the Magadh dominion. In A.D. 413 Chandra Gupta II died, and his son Kumara Gupta wielded the sceptre of his father. Of his rule very scanty information has been handed down to history, but when he died in A.D. 455 it was to pass on to his successor, Skanda Gupta, the very serious task of preserving the unity of the Empire against the onslaught of the Huns.

The savage hordes constituting these people poured into India from the Steppes of Central Asia, and came very near to conquering the Magadh Empire. Skanda Gupta, however, defeated them with much loss, and for ten or twelve years they were unable to renew the struggle. This victory was gained within two years of his succession to the throne, for the third and last of the inscriptions on the Asoka stone at Junagadh, dated A.D. 457, states that he had "already humbled his enemies." This inscription records the bursting of the dam of the Sudarsana Lake in the year of Skanda Gupta's succession. He had appointed one Parnadatta to the post of Viceroy of the Western provinces, who in his turn had made his son, Chakrapalita, Governor of Wamansthali. On the bursting of the dam, Chakrapalita had lost no time in setting to work to restore it. This was successfully done and the great work was commemorated by the building of a temple to Vishnu, and by the writing of the inscription on a vacant portion of the stone set up by Asoka.

This inscription consists of twenty-nine lines, written in the Sanskrit language, and it has been translated as follows :

Glory. Vishnu who snatched from Bali, for the happiness of Indra, that wealth which is worthy of

THE THIRD INSCRIPTION

enjoyment by his beloved *devotees* and which was carried off on various occasions, who has conquered misery, who is the constant asylum (or light) of that Lakshmi whose residence is the lotus, and who is ever victorious : May he be glorious. Next to him, may he (Skanda Gupta) be victorious, whose breast is encircled with wealth and splendour, who obtained the fame of a hero by his own arm, the supreme king of kings, who, acting as Garuda, does by his (Vishnu's) command, destroy the poison-like power of the snake-like kings with their hoods in the form of pride and conceit. The abode of kingly qualities, he, the far-famed Skanda Gupta of great wealth, who had already humbled his enemies, possessed himself on his father's attaining by the force of his merits the friendship of Devas, of the earth, which contains the gems of the four oceans, and is skirted by beautiful countries. He is indeed victorious, whose enemies even in Mlechha countries with their pride destroyed from the very root declare . . . his glory. Whom, Lakshmi, *who* in her wisdom having carefully reflected and considered all the causes of good and bad qualities, and rejected one after another the sons of kings, at last chose for her lord. Whilst this king was governing the earth no one amongst his subjects departed from the path of duty, was miserable, poor, vicious, miserly, deserving of punishment, or suffering from pain. Having thus conquered all the pride of his enemies and having established protecting officers in all the countries of the world, he began to think intently. "What person is there who is at once competent, and far-seeing, modest and with faith, full of wisdom and memory, who is endowed with truth, straightforwardness, generosity, moral worth, sweetness, talent, and glory ; who is greatly devoted and attached ; manly ; whose mind is devoid of every kind of deceit caused by the four *Upadhis* (viz. Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha) ; whose heart is ever intent on the discharge of his obligations ; who is devoted to the good of mankind ; and who by righteous means is able to earn wealth, to preserve and increase it, and to spend it on proper objects. Who is there qualified best

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to govern all the districts of Saurashtra amongst all my servants ? Yes, I know, surely only Parnadatta is competent to bear the burden." In this way this king of kings meditated for successive days and nights, and with firm resolve and earnest entreaty appointed him for the good government of the country of Saurashtra. The king by appointing Parnadatta to the West felt secure, as the Devas obtained rest after appointing Varuna to the West. His son, full of filial duty, was, as if it were by independent Parnadatta, divided into a second half of his own self, who was brought up as his own self, who had always the knowledge of self, whose form was beautiful in itself, who was of manners as pleasant to all as his wonderfully beautiful form, whose face resembled one of the numerous expanded lotuses, and who afforded protection to those who sought his protection. He, the beloved of the people, who was renowned in the world by the name of Chakrapalita, excelled even his father by his naturally good qualities. Power tempered by mercy, humility, morality, bravery that boasts not, patience, forgiveness, charity, cheerfulness, talent, gratefulness, activity, beauty, contempt of the mean, freedom from pride, courage, generosity—these and many other qualities in an eminent degree resided in him without interruption. There is no one in this world to be compared with him in good qualities. He being endowed with all good qualities became worthy of example to all mankind. The father (Parnadatta), having recognized these and other greater qualities, himself appointed him (Chakrapalita), and he in his turn protected the city in a pre-eminently good manner. He availed himself of the bravery of his two arms, did not depend on others, nor did he cause distress to any one from pride, and punished the wicked in the town. The people placed no small confidence in him in time and he, studying the character of the citizens, fondled them as if they were his children. He pleased his subjects with cheerfulness, sweet conversation, civility, liberality, by the familiarity of social intercourse, by respect for their family usages. He, devoted to Brahmanism, powerful,

SUDARSANA LAKE RESTORED

pure, charitable according to the rules, enjoyed such pleasures as he could without transgressing religion and prosperity. What wonder that he . . . from Parnadatta should be virtuous ? Is warmth ever caused from the Moon, which is cool as a collection of pearls and aquatic lotuses ? Afterwards, when in the course of nature the rainy season arrived after the hot season, it rained copiously and continuously for a long time, by the force whereof the Sudarsana burst. When a century of years plus thirty (six ?) passed, on the sixth day of Bhadrapada, at night, counting from the era of Gupta, the Palasini, and the Sikatavilasini, rivers arising from the Raivataka, wives of the ocean, being pent up for a long time, ran speedily towards their lord. The Urjāyata, seeing the endless deluge caused at the end of the rainy season, and desiring to serve the ocean, extended his hands in the form of rivers adorned with many flowers. All the people, despairing and crying to one another what to do and how to do, awakened in the beginning or end of night were overpowered with anxiety. The Sudarsana (good-looking) lake in this world instantly became Dur-darsana (ill-looking). Would the Sudarsana ever look as before and assume an appearance like that of the sea ? . . . He being greatly devoted to his father . . .

• having put forward Dharma (religion) ever beneficial sequence to its observers . . . for the benefit of the king and of the city, in a century of years, plus thirty plus seven *having passed* . . . Chaitra (month) . . . and whose greatness is known . . . having performed sacrifices to the gods with *ghi* and having paid them obeisance, and having satisfied Brahmans with gold, and the people of the city by entertaining them with proper civility, and also servants and respectable friends with gifts. . . . On the first day of the first demi-lunation of the *first* month of Grishma (latter half of summer) in two months, he, with great energy, and by expending immense wealth, constructed with great effort . . . whose total length is . . . hundred cubits, and whose breadth is sixty-eighty cubits, height (seven ?) persons' (height) . . . two hundred cubits . . . and with well-set stones made the lake

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Sudarsana . . . that might last till the deluge. May the lake ornamented with the sight of a strong Setu, adorned by Chakravaka, Kraunvha, Hamsa, and Dhuta birds ever moving in ripples, *having* clear water . . . as long as the Sun and the Moon . . . be prosperous along with a city filled with inhabitants ! May its sins be removed by hundreds of Brahmans singing the Vedas . . . century of years, also *may they be saved from* all kinds of evils, and from famine. . . . The description of the construction of the Sudarsana is here finished. The destroyer of the pride of haughty enemies, *possessed* of great fortune, a banner of his race, the lord of the whole earth, a maker of numerous spiritual gifts for the sake of fame, and *therefore* fit to be praised . . . the protector of the Dwipa, the lord of the great, the suppressor of the enemies, his son endowed with his own qualities, (? son) had offered his soul to the feet of Govinda (Vishnu), by him . . . and having been to the lotus-feet of Vishnu . . . with a great expenditure of money and time, who by his prowess has had in submission the people of the city . . . the holder of the discus . . . enemy . . . who with independence of action and with some motive became a man. To this discus-holding Vishnu, a temple was constructed by Chakrapalita ; . . . and . . . from the (Kala) era of the Gupta . . . a century of years plus thirty-eight (having passed) . . . appears beautiful at the head of the town as if lording over the Urjaya-tāchala . . . and on its top in the way to the sky shines forth the (lake) called Sundara.

Such is the last record we have of the Sudarsana Lake. It burst again at some period unknown and was never repaired. Its very site, even, cannot now be accurately determined.

CHAPTER IV

(A.D. 470–760)

IT has already been noticed that the reign of Skanda Gupta was begun by a fight for the very existence of his kingdom against the hordes of White Huns in A.D. 455. Ten years after their repulse the Huns, in overwhelming force to wipe out their former defeat, and to make sure of victory, once more penetrated into India, and attacked Patliputra itself. This time they were more successful than in their former raid, and Skanda Gupta was completely defeated. The Huns, however, had already made their headquarters near Herat, and were not constrained to annex the capital of their conquered enemy as a permanent capital of their own. Thus, although the Magadh Empire virtually dissolved, the dynasty continued to run on for many years. But the power of the Guptas continued to wane, and deprived of possessions and power, at the end of the sixth century A.D. they died out.

Meanwhile, about the year A.D. 470, the history of Saurashtra again underwent a change. In this year Skanda Gupta died, and the bards relate that at the time, one Bhattarka, of the Maitraka clan, was Commander-in-Chief of the army. This man came to Saurashtra, and having declared his independence, established a dynasty which lasted for nearly 300 years. Having made good his footing, he placed a governor at Wamansthali (the modern Wanthal) and himself founded the city of Walabhinagar, where he established himself as King of Saurashtra. Walabhinagar lies buried near the site of

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the present town of Wala, some eighteen miles North-West of Bhavnagar, and awaits the exploration of the archæologist, when many interesting discoveries will doubtless be made.

Of the Walabhi dynasty we have many remains, chiefly in the shape of copper-plate inscriptions which have been found at various times and places throughout Kathiawad. These copper-plates are most interesting. They consist of two nearly square flat pieces of copper, each having two holes about three inches apart at the top, through which metal rings were passed, securing the two separate parts of the plate. They mostly contain records of grants of land, but their particular value lies in the fact that they bear names of the grantors and in most cases short genealogical trees of the Walabhi dynasty. In addition to these inscriptions, we have the evidence supplied by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Tsiang, who visited Wala in about A.D. 640, when it was in the height of its power and a stronghold of Buddhism. He described minutely Wala as he found it, and from his remarks and the information obtained from the copper-plate inscriptions, it has been found possible to construct the following table, showing the names of the Walabhi kings :

1. Bhattarka, A.D. 495.
2. Dharasena I, eldest son of Bhattarka.
3. Dronasinha, second son of Bhattarka, who is described in a copper-plate found at Jhara near Dhari in Saurashtra as he "whose crest jewel was greatly purified by his bowing at Dharasena's feet; whose religion was to observe all the rules laid down by Manu; who was like Dharma incarnate; who had prescribed the way of politeness and duty; who had been crowned by the great sovereign himself, the lord of the whole earth, whose

THE WALABHI RULERS

royal fortune was sanctified by great spiritual gifts, and who was a great devotee of Sankara."

4. Dhruvasena I, third son of Bhattarka.
5. Dharapatta, fourth son of Bhattarka. (But it is not quite certain whether he ruled at Walabhi.)
6. Guhasena, son of Dharapatta, "whose glory was proclaimed to all by his forcibly subduing his enemies" and of whom plates have been found dated A.D. 560 and 568.
7. Dharasena II, son of Guhasena, A.D. 569–589.
8. Siladitya I, son of Dharasena II, of whom there is a grant dated A.D. 596
9. Kharagraha, brother of Siladitya I.
10. Dharasena III, son of Kharagraha.
11. Dhruvasena II, younger son of Kharagraha, during whose reign in about A.D. 640 Hiouen Tsiang visited Wala. He was also known as Baladitya. Began his reign in A.D. 629.
12. Dharasena IV, second son of Dhruvasena II, who made a grant of land to the Brahmans of Sinhapura, the modern Sihor, A.D. 641.
13. Dhruvasena III, grandson of Siladitya I, A.D. 651.
14. Kharagraha II, brother of Dhruvasena II, A.D. 656.
15. Siladitya II,* brother of Kharagraha II, A.D. 667.
16. Siladitya III, son of Siladitya II, of whom grants have been found dated A.D. 666–668.
17. Siladitya IV, son of Siladitya III, who was ruling in A.D. 713.
18. Siladitya V.
19. Siladitya VI.
20. Siladitya VII.

While the Walabhi kings were consolidating their

* There is reason to believe from the wording of some of the grants that Siladitya II did not reign. If this surmise is correct, Dhruvasena III and Kharagraha II also (being younger brothers) did not reign, and Siladitya III's immediate predecessor on the throne of Walabhi was Dharasena IV.

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power, stirring events were taking place in Northern India. We have already seen that in A.D. 455 the White Huns had been repulsed while attacking the dominions of Skanda Gupta, but that ten years afterwards they had again swarmed into India and overrun the Magadh Empire. The second invasion was conducted by a chief named Toramana, who became ruler of Malwa. He was succeeded by Mihiragula, who in about the year A.D. 528 was driven out of India. There is little doubt the kings of Wala paid tribute to the Huns until this time, when they asserted their complete independence.

In the latter part of the sixth century the Raja of Thanesar in the Punjab, who had married a lady of the Gupta family, conquered the whole of the Punjab, and began to build up for himself and his descendants an empire which extended from the Himalayas to the Narbada River. He was succeeded by his brother Harsha, a young man whose fame as a ruler became second only to that of Asoka. Although he did not attack the dominions of the Walabhi kings, we find the latter at Kanauj in A.D. 644 present as his vassal at a gigantic assembly of Buddhists at which Hiouen Tsiang was present. Dhruvasena II, who was King of Walabhi at the time, was connected by marriage with Harsha. Thus it will be seen that while the Walabhi rulers preserved their independence, they were quite ready to acknowledge as greater than themselves the king who for the time being held paramount sway in Northern India.

This is probably the explanation of their remaining lords of Saurashtra for so many years, and it was not until about A.D. 766 that they were overthrown. How destruction came upon them is uncertain, but tradition which is supported by the records of Musalman historians says that the Arabs came through Sind and Kachh, under Amru bin Jamal, in the time of Khalif Al Mansur, and completely overran their country. This was not the

HIOUEN TSIANG VISITS WALA

first time that the Arabs had invaded Saurashtra, for we learn that Junaid, son of Abdul Rahaman Al Marri, Governor of the Sind frontier, successfully invaded Hindustan between the years A.D. 710–740, but returned to his country without effecting a permanent settlement in the conquered provinces. Whoever the invader may have been, he effectively destroyed for ever the power which had held sway in Saurashtra for three hundred years. Of the city of Walabhi we get a fairly adequate idea from the account left us by Hiouen Tsiang, when in about A.D. 640 he visited the place while on his pilgrimage to all the best known sites connected with Buddhism. His account has been translated by Stanislas Julien, in his "*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Tsiang*," and "*Memoires sur les Contrees Occidentales*," and from the account we learn :

The kingdom of Walabhi is about 1200 miles in circuit ; the capital has a circumference of six miles. As to the products of the soil, nature of the climate, the manners and character of the people, they are like those of Malwa. The population is very numerous, and all the families live in wealth. There are a hundred whose wealth amounts to a million. Merchandise from distant countries is found here in abundance. There are a hundred (Buddhist) convents, where nearly six thousand devotees live, who for the most part study the doctrines of Ching-liang-pu which adhered to Siao-ching. We count several hundred temples of the gods, and the heretics of various sects are exceedingly numerous.

When Buddha lived in this world, he travelled often in this region. Wherefore in all the places where he rested, King Asoka raised pillars in honour of him, or constructed "Stupas." We observe at intervals the monuments that mark the places where the three past Buddhas had sat, performed deeds, or preached the law. The kings of the present time are of Kshatrya race ; all are nephews of King Siladitya of Malwa. At present the son of King Siladitya of Kanya Kubja has a son-in-law called Dhruvabhatta. He is of a quick and passionate

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nature and his intellect is weak and narrow. Still he believes in the three precious things. For seven days every year he holds a great assembly, at which he distributes to the multitude of recluses choice dishes, the three garments, medicine, the seven precious things, and rare objects of great value. After giving all these in alms, he buys them back at double price. He esteems virtue and honours the sages. He reverences religion and values science. The most eminent men of distant countries are always objects of respect with him.

At a little distance from the city there is a great convent built long ago by the care of the Arhat Atharya. It was there that the Bodhi Sattvas Gunamati and Sthiramati fixed their abode and composed several books which are published with praise.

Such is an eye-witness's account of Walabhi at the height of its glory and power, and it is evident that the wealth of the inhabitants was only exceeded by their piety. Thus we see that Saurashtra still maintained its reputation in both respects, but the fall of the Walabhi dynasty completely changed the conditions. On an inscription at Baroda dated A.D. 812 is written "Saurashtra has lost its name of Saurajya from the ruin that has fallen upon it." "Ichabod" appears to have been written over its portals, and the details of the invasion which wrought so great a change will probably never be brought to light. The past has kept its secret well.

The copper-plate inscriptions of the kings of Walabhi give us some idea of the extreme religious feeling which appears to have been prevalent. Buddhism was nowhere in a more flourishing condition, and it is most probable that the fall of Walabhi sounded its death-knell. Buddha's philosophy disappeared from India between the eighth and tenth centuries A.D., after running hand in hand with Brahmanism for over a thousand years. Perhaps too much time spent in religious exercises was the cause of Walabhi's downfall. Peace and prosperity had doubt-

A WALABHI GRANT

less brought with them a dislike for the use of arms and a false sense of security. Perhaps, too, an enervated and luxury-loving people had lost all their hardihood, and when their time of trial came they were unable to withstand the attack suddenly made upon them. The destruction of the kingdom seems to have been most complete, and to have been accomplished without great loss to the invaders. And so it has always been. Too much prosperity and luxury is inevitably followed by disaster.

It may be of interest to reproduce a translation of one of the Walabhi copper-plates which rests now in the Museum at Bhavnagar. It was found at Katpur, a village near Mahuva, on the South coast of Kathiawad, and is in a good state of preservation. The two portions of the plate are connected by rings, and appended to it is the seal of the Walabhi kings, which was usually attached to such plates. The plate in question contains the account of a grant of a field made to priests named Vishakha and Bappa. It is dated A.D. 571, when Dharasena II ruled, and is written in Sanskrit as follows :

From the conquering army encamped in Bhadraptanaka, Maharaja Dharasena, who had washed off all his sins with the water of the Ganges flowing in the form of the spreading rays of the nails of his father's feet, who is beautifully surrounded by all good qualities being as it were attracted to him by his beauty, the splendour of whose wealth is a constant source of comfort to his numerous friends, who has astonished all practised in the use of the bow by his power of natural strength and peculiar tact, who maintains good religious gifts made by former kings, who wards off calamities which injure his subjects, who exhibits an union of wealth and learning in himself, whose bravery is clever in enjoying the wealth of his foes, to whom royalty has descended in regular line and who is a great devotee of Sankara;—the son of Maharaja Shri Guhasena, who had acquired spiritual

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merits by worshipping the feet of his father, who had even from his early age his sword his only companion, had shown marks of excessive valour by splitting open the temples of mad elephants belonging to his enemies, the cluster of rays from the nails of whose left foot was mixed with the lustre of the jewels in the crowns of enemies forced to bow to his power, who well deserved the name of Raja for pleasing the hearts of his subjects by following well the ways prescribed in all the Smritis; who in beauty, splendour, stability, deepness, knowledge and wealth, surpassed Kamadeva, Chandra, the Himalaya, the ocean, Brihaspati and Kubera respectively, who was ready to give promises of safety to those who sought his protection, and who, therefore, gave away everything belonging (to him) like a straw, who pleased the good hearts of the learned by paying more wealth than they desired as recompense for their work, who was like the joy of the whole world walking on its legs, and who was a great devotee of Sankara ;—the son of Shri Maharaja Dharapatta, who had quite washed off all his sins by bowing before (his) lotus-like feet, who had washed away all evil influences brought in the train of Kali with the water of his pure conduct, whose glory was proclaimed to all by his forcibly subduing his enemies, and who was a great devotee of Surya ;—younger brother of Maharaja Shri Dhruvasena, who was the sole conqueror of the herds of numerous elephants of his enemies by the heroic strength of his single arm, who was shelter to those who sought it from him, who was versed in religious principles, who was Kalpataru to relatives and friends fulfilling all their desires, and who was a great devotee of Bhagavan ;—younger brother of the lion-like Maharaja Shri Dronasinha, whose crest jewel was greatly purified by his bowing at his brother's feet, whose religion was to observe all the rules laid down by Manu, etc., who was like Dharma incarnate, who had prescribed the way of politeness and duty, who had been crowned by the great sovereign himself, the lord of the whole of the earth, whose royal fortune was sanctified by large spiritual gifts, and who was a great devotee of Sankara ;—the son of Shri Senapati

A GIFT FOR EVER

Dharasena, whose head, bent before his father, had become red with the dust of his feet, the brilliancy of the nails of whose feet was enhanced by the brilliancy of the jewels in the crown of (his) foes when bowing (their) heads, whose splendour made the life of the poor, the helpless and the miserable worth living, and who was a great devotee of Sankara ;—the son of Shri Senapati Bhattarka, who had acquired glory by completely subduing with the help of large and innumerable forces of his friends, all his enemies forced to bow down, who was devoted to the pleasure of mildness, respect, and benevolence acquired by his prowess, who had gained royal fortune by the strength of hereditary servants, foes and friends alike, and who was a great devotee of Sankara ; proclaims to all his subjects, servants, drangikas (?), elders, chiefmen of cheats, permanent office holders, justices, ministers, princes and others residing in this kingdom and others, as also those whom it may concern to know, that he has given as gift to Brahmacharis Vishakha and Bāppā, Brahmans of the Kasyapa gotra, with the necessary Sankalpa, for the spiritual welfare of his parents and for the acquisition of his own desired ends in this world and the next, sixty pādāvartas of field-land on the Eastern boundary of the village of Damaripataka, situated in Vahapalikasthali, with its surroundings and accompaniments, with the grains produced by nature or brought by wind, and the *right of* taking gold with the revenues of the rights of forced labour, in order that they may both learning the Samaveda together perform the five sacred Yajnas (viz.) Balidāna, Chārūhoma, Vaishvadeva, Agnihotra, and Atithi. This to be enjoyed by their descendants till the Moon, the Sun, the Ocean, the River, and the Earth endure. No one should obstruct them in its enjoyment or cultivation as a charitable gift. Future kings of his line knowing that greatness is fickle and human life is unstable, and also knowing that the merits of this gift belong to them in common with him, should respect and protect this his grant. Whoever resumes this gift or allows it to be resumed will be guilty of committing the five great sins along with other minor sins.

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It is said by Bhagavan Veda Vyasa “ he who makes a gift of land lives sixty thousand years in Svarga (heaven), while he who resumes it or allows it to be resumed lives the same number of years in Narka (hell).” The resumers of land become black serpents residing in dry caves in the waterless land of the Vindhya-chala. O Yudhishtira ! the best of the lords of the earth, protect the lands given to Brahmans in former times. It is more meritorious to protect than to give. Many kings such as Sāgara, etc., have enjoyed the earth, *but* he who is the lord for the time being enjoys its fruits. When kings have granted any money for religious purposes that (money) is like refuse. What good man would resume it through fear of poverty ? This is written by Skandabhatta, the negotiator of peace and war, the 5th day Vaishakha Krishna Paksha of Samvat 252. This is the signature of Maharaja Shri Dharasena himself. The messenger is Chirbira.

CHAPTER V

(A.D. 875–1026)

WITH the destruction of the Walabhi dynasty the history of Saurashtra again underwent a change. No longer was it destined to contain the seat of government of one unrivalled and undisputed power. No longer was it to boast as its capital a town among the most famous in India, and from this time may be said to have begun that influx of foreigners who established themselves in various parts of the Kathiawad peninsula, carving out for themselves those various divisions which nowadays form the many States into which the country is divided. The process of formation of these States has been necessarily gradual, and it was not until some time after the fall of Walabhi that their founders began their incursions. From this time also the recording of a connected history becomes a matter of difficulty for him who would chronicle it—not, as is often the case, from want of knowledge of facts and their sources, but because of there being almost a surplus of them. Each invader, as he established himself, laid the foundations of his own dynasty, and the history of one is by no means identical with that of another. The historian of Saurashtra is beset with just such difficulties as present themselves to the writer of India's past. Until the Musalman rule was firmly established there was no really connected India. In the time of the Mauryas the Kalingas had a history of their own, and the Andhras were no less powerful in their own part of India than were the kingdoms South of the River

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

Tungabhadra. Even at a later period the history of the Mahomedan kings of Delhi differed widely from that of the Musalman rulers in the Deccan, and perhaps there can be no greater contrast than that between the histories of the Delhi Empire and that of the events in Southern and Western India after Vasco da Gama had seized Goa for the King of Portugal. Consequently in a history of Kathiawad a great deal of detail must be omitted. For the story of each ruling dynasty was recorded by its own bards, and even chronological connexion is often quite impossible.

Of the earliest settlers in Saurashtra, whether indigenous or otherwise, we know a considerable amount, and some account of them is necessary before it is possible to follow the happenings in the province after the fall of Walabhi. At the end of the seventh century the principal tribes, or racial classes, inhabiting the peninsula were Jethwas, Chaoras, Walas, Ahers, Rabaris, Mers, Bhils, and Kolis, and of these the two last named formed the aboriginal people. The influx of foreigners caused them to move from their jungle and hill fortresses, and they gradually disappeared almost entirely from Kathiawad. Nothing much is known about them, and references to them by the bards of invading peoples are chiefly contemptuous. It is likely their skins were very much darker than those of the peoples who usurped their lands, and their meat-eating propensities doubtless found little favour in the eyes of their conquerors. They are, indeed, generally referred to as devils, and the Kolis of Okha, and Piram and Shiyal Islands were much feared on the sea.

After the fall of Walabhi the most important of all the inhabitants of Saurashtra were undoubtedly the Rajputs, as represented by the Jethwas, Chaoras, and Walas. These Rajputs have an interesting history. Before the third century A.D. the power of Buddhism

THE JETHWAS OF PORBANDAR

had so grown that almost all the principal rulers were followers of that persuasion. But Brahmanism afterwards asserted itself, and, its sister-religion dying out, Buddhist converts became Kshatryas or Rajputs. The Jethwas are undoubtedly the oldest Rajput race in Kathiawad, and their history is so mixed with prehistoric legends that it is almost impossible to trace their descent. So far as these mythical tales go, those in respect of the Jethwas afford excellent support to Darwin's theory of the evolution of man. For the bards say that when Hanuman, the monkey-god, was crossing the bridge of monkeys from India to Ceylon a drop of perspiration from his body fell into the sea, where a crocodile swallowed it. The result of this incident was the birth of the first Jethwa, and among many of the ignorant peoples of Kathiawad it is firmly believed to this day that the Jethwas possess tails ! But such a legend, interesting as it may be, must give place to a far more possible explanation of the Jethwa origin. The similarity of the name "Jethwa" with "Jit" and "Jat" makes it appear most likely that the Scythians from the North were their ancestors, and this is to a certain extent borne out by the bardic legend to the effect that the Jethwas were first established at Shrinagar. It is nearly certain, however, that this cannot be the town of the name which is situated a few miles West of the present home of the Jethwa family at Porbandar. In the first place, their first settlement in Saurashtra was not so far South, and what are now Morvi and Nawanagar were the places they first occupied. They do not appear, however, to have remained here long, and migrated to Dhank, in the Southern portion of what is now Nawanagar territory, where at the end of the first century A.D. Nagarjana Jethwa held sway. Subsequently they built and fortified their stronghold at Ghumli in the Barda Hills, moving at a later period, about the year A.D. 1313, to Ranpur, and afterwards, in A.D. 1574,

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to Chhaya, a fortified place which lies about a mile and a half East of Porbandar, where they settled. Secondly, the village of Shrinagar, near Porbandar, yields no remains which at all justify the conjecture that such a powerful people established themselves there. With these facts to go upon, the most likely theory is that the Jethwas are an offshoot of the Scythian tribes of the North, who were settled in Kashmir in the first century A.D. After moving Southwards, probably through Sind, they settled in Saurashtra, and in the case of the village of Shrinagar but preceded the example of the American Colonists in giving names of places in the land of their origin to places in the land of their adoption.

The Jethwa bards relate that the fourth ruler of Ghumli built the temple of the Sun at Shrinagar. There are no remains of any such building at Shrinagar in Saurashtra, and it is not conceivable that the sway of the Ghumli rulers extended so far North as Kashmir. Hence we are bound to infer that the Jethwa bards either gave long rein to their imagination or were the most accomplished flatterers. One other piece of evidence favours the theory that the Jethwas were an offshoot of the Scythians. On Scythian coins the word "Kumar" frequently appears, and from bardic legends we find that after the founding of Ghumli in the seventh century by Shil Kumar Jethwa, the rulers of Ghumli were recognized as being "Kumarants." While established in their fastness in the Barda Hills they must have been at the height of their power and prosperity, for Shil Kumar Jethwa married the daughter of Anangpal, who was King of Delhi in A.D. 674, as a reward for valuable services rendered in war. Ghumli fell some time about the twelfth century A.D., when the Jadeja, Jam Bamanioji from Kachh, laid siege to, and captured, the fortress.

After the extinction of the Walabhi dynasty the most important people in Saurashtra for some years in all

THE CHAORA RULERS

probability were the Chaoras. They too were Rajputs, and very likely were of Saka or Scythian origin. It is believed that they and the Jethwas were of the same stock, and legendary history maintains that Dhank was the scene of their first settlement in Saurashtra. While the Walabhi dynasty was still paramount, the Chaoras separated from the Jethwas and settled in Okha, in the West of the peninsula. They did not stay there very long, however, and later migrated to Prabhas Patan, where they were settled when Walabhi fell. Patan was not the only scene of their incursions. In A.D. 746 we learn that a Chaora named Wanraj (the Forest King) was elected by Bhils in Gujarat to be their ruler. Anhilwad Patan, in Gujarat, became his capital, and after the destruction of Walabhi this place became the most important in Western India. But the Chaoras never rose to very great eminence, and it is doubtful whether all the country between Anhilwad Patan, in Gujarat, and Prabhas Patan, in Saurashtra, came under their sway. What is more likely is that they became two separate peoples, of which the Gujarat branch became more powerful.

Wanraj died in A.D. 804, and was succeeded by Yograj, then Kshemraj, Bhuwad, Wirsinha, Ratnaditya, and Samatsinha in the order named. Samatsinha, the last of the dynasty, died in A.D. 935, and with his death the Chaora power practically died out. Chaoras, however, continued to hold sway in part of Saurashtra until the thirteenth century, but never to any great extent. Their name suggests that they were merely plunderers, the word "Chaora" being derived from the Gujarati word *choriya*, a band of robbers. But the fact that they held Prabhas Patan and fortified it so well that they were able at first to beat off the determined attacks of Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1025 shows that robbery cannot subsequently have been their only occupation. If, as is probable, they built the temple of Somnath, the riches

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attached to which excited Mahmud's envy, religion must have played a great part in their lives. By some authorities they are reputed to have been sun-worshippers, but if the ruins which now exist at Patan be those of a temple similar to that which was desecrated, they must have regarded Shankar as their principal deity.

The third of the three Rajput races of olden times in Saurashtra was the Wala tribe, and the Walas are supposed to have been the survival of the Walabhi dynasty. Whether this conjecture can be correct will probably never be determined. Bardic legends on the subject differ considerably from information derived from other sources, and the two can scarcely be reconciled. The bards say that the Walas came originally from Dhank, and were of the same stock as the Jethwas and Chaoras. Migrating Eastwards from Dhank, they established themselves at Wala and founded the Walabhi dynasty. But from other records we learn that Bhattarka, the first King of Walabhi, was of a clan known as "Maitraka," which was not settled in Kathiawad. It is, indeed, likely that the Walas were descended from the Walabhi dynasty, but what the bards say of their previous origin cannot be accepted without further proof.

On the subsequent history of the family the bards again differ. Some say that Shiladitya VII of Walabhi married a Brahman woman, and had a son named Karna Raja. He had a son named Writket, who made for himself a kingdom between the Ganges and the Jumna rivers. He afterwards established himself in Saurashtra, and ruled over a fourth part of the peninsula. Another account says that when Shiladitya VII was overcome, his wife, Pushpawati, fled into the jungle, where some time afterwards a son was born to her. As the birth took place in a cave (*Gufa* in Gujarati) this son was called "Goha." To a Brahman was entrusted the task of rearing and bringing up the boy as befitted a ruler,

WALAS, AHERS, AND MERS

and on his attaining maturity he rose to power as a king at Bhandari, in Northern Gujarat. He captured Chitor and there established himself, afterwards migrating to Saurashtra.

It is probable the Gohel Rajputs might derive descent from Goha, though it was not until a much later period—about A.D. 1260—that the Gohels were driven by the Rathods out of Marwar; nor does this quite fit in with the bardic legend to the effect that Goha came to Saurashtra from Chitor. They claim, however, that Gohel ancestors were established at Mangrol in the eighth century A.D.

Of the Ahers we do not know very much. Ptolemy the Greek mentions them as the “Ahiriya” people—a name which represents “Abhir,” from which the modern word “Aher” has been evolved. They formerly lived on the banks of the Indus, and in all probability migrated to Saurashtra when the influx of Mahomedans into Sind from Persia caused them to move to save their religion. They were fighting men, and the earlier Rajput rulers made much use of them in this capacity.

The Mers are generally supposed to have come to Saurashtra with the Jethwas, and there can be little doubt that they were formerly a Northern people. In Rajputana there are still many of them, which is evidenced by the district Merwara being called after them. But in Kathiawad they exist in comparatively small numbers, and almost entirely in the Porbandar State. They claim kinship with the Jethwas on the ground that in former days, when the latter found difficulty in obtaining wives from among other Rajput peoples, they married Mer women. To this day, when a Jethwa sits on the *gadi* of his ancestor in Porbandar, the ceremony of installation is not complete until the Mer leader has made a blood-mark on his forehead with a cut finger. This survival does, in all probability, point to some blood-relationship.

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The Mers have always been most loyal to the Jethwas of Porbandar, whose armies in former days were largely composed of them.

The Rabaris are said by bards to have come to Saurashtra from Hastinapur (Delhi) and settled in the North of the province. They afterwards went into the Barda Hills, and as they were formerly known as "Barbans," it is possible the hilly jungle country was named after them. They subsequently became split up, and one section became known as "Babriyas," who gave the name Babriawad to the district they inhabited. Like the Mers, they also claim kinship with the Jethwas through intermarriage. We gather from bardic legends they were a very wild people, who shared with the Bhils the unenviable appellation "Devils."

At the time of the destruction of Walabhi all these peoples formed the bulk of the population of Saurashtra; and we see that the North was still practically uninhabited, while the Jethwas ruled in the West and the Chaoras predominated in the South and South-East of the peninsula. But more important than either became the Chudasamas of Wamansthali, a town eight miles from Junagadh, now known as Wanthal. Of the early history of this family we have few records, but we know they originally came from Sind. After the fall of Walabhi the Governor of Wamansthali became independent, and his descendants ruled in Wamansthali after him until the latter part of the ninth century, when Wala Ram was Raja. Wala Ram had no sons, and the question arose as to who should succeed him after his death. It happened that among the Hindu tribes which had migrated Southward before the encroachments of the Mahomedans was that of the Samas, who settled at Saminagar (now Nagar Thatha), in Sind. Wala Ram's sister had been married to the chief of the Sama tribe, and her son, Ra Chuda, was selected to follow his uncle at Wamans-

THE FOUNDING OF JUNAGADH

thali. Accordingly, at Wala Ram's death, in about A.D. 875, Ra Chuda founded the Chudasama dynasty, adding the name of his father's tribe to his own name. The Chudasamas quickly became very powerful, and from an inscription at Dhandhusar we learn that the rulers of all neighbouring countries regarded them as paramount. The dynasty continued to hold sway for nearly six hundred years, when the Mahomedans overthrew it and annexed its territories.

Ra Chuda died about A.D. 907, and was succeeded by his grandson Mulraj, his son, Hamir, having died. Ra Mulraj, after making several conquests of neighbouring rulers who defied him, died in A.D. 915, and was followed by his son Vishwarah, who continued the policy of his father in conquering all who questioned his supremacy.

The next Ra of Wamansthali, Grahari or Grahario I, built the fort at Junagadh now known as the "Uparkot." This fort lies on a most commanding position in the town of Junagadh, and about one and a half miles West of the holy Girnar Hill. Its massive walls and strong defences must have made it a very formidable stronghold to attack before the days of artillery. The hill on which it stands is supposed to have been the site of a Buddhist monastery in the days of Asoka Maurya, and the finding of Buddhist remains on and near the spot go far towards showing that conjecture to be true. From its walls the whole country round could be seen, and in course of time the town of Junagadh came to be built round it, which in its turn was surrounded by a strongly fortified wall, thus making the citadel doubly secure. The word "Junagadh" means "the Old Fort," and the story of how it got the name is somewhat quaint. It relates that between Girnar Hill and Wamansthali there was formerly thick jungle, through which no one could penetrate. After several Ras of Wamansthali had ruled, a woodcutter one day managed to cut his way through the forest and

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came to a place where stone walls and a gate existed. Near by sat a holy man in contemplation, and on being asked by the woodcutter the name of the place and its history, he replied that its name was "Juna"—old. The woodcutter returned by the way he had come to Wamansthali, and reported his discovery to the Ra, who ordered the forest to be cleared away. This being done, the fort came into sight. But there was none who knew its history, or who could tell more than the holy man had told the woodcutter. So the place became known as "Junagadh" for want of a better title. If this story is to be believed, either Ra Grahariпу rediscovered an ancient stronghold or else after he had built the fort it was abandoned and afterwards found again by a later ruler. In common with most legends, the story above narrated does not contain any dates, but from the evidence contained in the Devyashray we may safely conclude that Ra Grahariпу laid the foundations of the citadel as it now exists.

While the Chudasamas were becoming powerful as Ras of Wamansthali, events were taking place in Gujarat which were destined to affect Saurashtra. We have already seen that in A.D. 935 Samatsinha, the last Chaora ruler of Anhilwad Patan, died. He had no son but one daughter, whom he had married to a man of the Solanki (or Chalukya) Rajput tribe. The result of this union was a son, who was given the name of Mulraj. Mulraj was brought up with great care by Samatsinha, who, before he died, nominated him as his successor. On Samatsinha's death, Mulraj succeeded him and founded the Solanki dynasty, ruling over all the territory possessed by the old Chaora kings.

Before this time the Chaoras of Prabhas Patan must have come under the sway of the Chaoras of Anhilwad, for we learn that when Ra Grahariпу of Wamansthali began harassing pilgrims going to the great temple of

RA KAWAT A PRISONER

Somnath (Someshwar) at Prabhas Patan, Mulraj called upon him to desist. This request was met with scant courtesy, with the result that Mulraj took an army into Saurashtra and inflicted a crushing defeat on Ra Grahariju, taking him prisoner. Eventually the latter was released on undertaking to molest no more the devotees going to Prabhas Patan.

Ra Grahariju died in A.D. 982, and was succeeded by Ra Kawat. From the time of Ra Kawat bardic tales of the history of Saurashtra begin to accumulate, and to separate the probable from the improbable is no light task. Colonel Watson has endeavoured to do so with much success, but many of the legends in the form in which they have reached us cannot be entirely accepted. It is likely they consist of a small amount of truth covered over with a greater amount of exaggeration or conjecture. However, in the absence of more reliable evidence they must be accepted for what they may be worth. Of Ra Kawat the following story is told while he ruled at Wamansthali—or, to give the place its more modern appellation, Wanthali : A certain Rajput chief, Viramdeva Parmar, held sway on Shiyal Island, which is one of a group of three islands off the Southern coast of Kathiawad, near Jafrabad. Viramdeva's great hobby was to capture other rulers and imprison them on his island inside a wooden cage, the site of which prison is shown to this day. In this way some thirty-six chieftains became the involuntary guests of the island warrior, but Ra Kawat's was the capture he most desired to make. Eventually he induced Ra Kawat to meet him on a ship near Prabhas Patan, and having thus obtained possession of him, he sailed to Shiyal and placed his much prized captive with the thirty-six others in the cage.

Ra Kawat had a maternal uncle named Wala Uga of Talaja, and between the two there had been for some time considerable jealousy as to which was the more

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valiant. Wala Uga came to know of his nephew's enforced confinement and determined to release him. So, taking an army, he invaded Shiyal Island and slew Viramdeva. When releasing Ra Kawat, he accidentally hit him with his foot. At this, the erstwhile captive became angry and vowed vengeance on his uncle, which he afterwards carried into effect. Marching against Wala Uga with an army, he defeated him, and killed him near Chitrasar, in the Babria country. The ungrateful nephew himself died in A.D. 1003, and was succeeded by his son, Ra Dyas.

During the reign of Ra Dyas his dominions were again invaded by the King of Anhilwad Patan, when Dula Raj, enraged at a lady of his family being insulted while on a pilgrimage to the Girnar Mountain, marched with an army into Saurashtra and captured Wanthal. Ra Dyas fled to Junagadh, where he was besieged in the Uparkot. Dula Raj, however, made his way into the fort, captured and killed Ra Dyas, and massacred the defenders. This took place in A.D. 1010, and after the death of Ra Dyas Dula Raj returned to Anhilwad, leaving a Viceroy to represent him in maintaining authority over the conquered territories of the Chudasamas. The Viceroy's rule lasted for ten years, and in A.D. 1020 Ra Dyas's son, Ra Noghan, obtained possession of his ancestral dominions. Ra Noghan, however, passed through many vicissitudes during the time he was kept out of possession. After the death of Ra Dyas one of his Ranis fled with Noghan and took shelter with an Aher named Devaiyat. The Ahers had become hereditary soldiers in the service of the Chudasamas, and were, indeed, to them what the Mers were to the Jethwas. On hearing of the place of concealment of Noghan, the Viceroy sent for Devaiyat and asked for the surrender of the youthful heir. Devaiyat agreed to hand him over to the representative of the Raja of Anhilwad, and outwardly sent for him. But he gave private instructions to the messenger to the effect that

SOMNATH TEMPLE DESTROYED

his own son Wasan was to be sent instead. Wasan came, and Devaiyat was ordered to kill him, which he did. But he swore vengeance on the Viceroy, and on the occasion of his daughter Jasal's marriage his Ahers fell upon the Viceroy and his men and killed them all. Ra Noghan then sat on the throne of which he had been dispossessed for ten years.

Devaiyat's daughter Jasal was then married with much pomp, and went to Sind with her husband. There a certain chief named Hamir Sumro endeavoured to seize her and marry her, and on her sending a message to Noghan, the latter marched on Sind and defeated Hamir Sumro, in this manner repaying to some extent all that Devaiyat and the Ahers had done for him while he had been in hiding.

During this period nothing is known as to what the Jethwas and Walas were doing in Saurashtra. Their bards record long lists of names of rulers of the two tribes, but these are not at all reliable, and supply the only information to be gathered concerning the two races.

In A.D. 1025 took place one of the most stirring events in the whole history of Kathiawad, for Mahmud of Ghazni attacked and completely destroyed the temple of Somnath at Prabhas Patan, and in so doing created one of the great landmarks of Indian history. Of the wonderful Temple of the Moon we are so fortunate as to possess such records that to make a mental construction of the same or to understand the grandeur and greatness attached to it we are not obliged to draw extensively on the imagination. We have been left, indeed, the account of an eye-witness, for the great Arab commentator, Al Biruni, visited Somnath when in India and placed on record all he saw with much exactitude of detail.

Al Biruni was born near Khiva in A.D. 973, and died about 1031. He made several tours in India, and devoted

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much time to recording all he saw and could learn of the manners and customs of the Hindus. He appears to have visited Somnath twice, once before and once after its destruction. The word "Somnath," he says, is derived from the two words "Soma," meaning "Moon," and "Nath," meaning "Master," and he gives the following account of the founding of the temple :

The Moon was married to the twenty-five daughters of the god Prajapati, these twenty-five daughters now shining in the sky as twenty-five lunar constellations. The Moon showed special preference for one of them, Rohini, whereupon the remainder complained to their father. Prajapati advised the treating of all wives equally, but the Moon took no notice, and so the god made his face leprous. Repentance now took the place of indifference, and the Moon besought Prajapati to remove the curse he had inflicted. Prajapati said he could not altogether do this, but he would alleviate it by making the Moon dark for half of each month, and that if the Moon wished to wipe out the trace of his sin he should worship Shiva and erect a "lingam," Shiva's sign, as an object of this worship. Accordingly the Moon erected the "lingam" and temple at the holy place Prabhas Patan, and the name "Somnath," or "Lord of the Moon," was given to it. Patan itself is sometimes called "Sompur," or the "City of the Moon."

This temple and idol soon became famous throughout all countries professing Hinduism, and by reason of the gifts of the pious, and the many thousands of pilgrims who annually visited the place, its riches quickly became no less great than its fame. Al Biruni says that every day a jug of water from the sacred Ganga (Ganges) River was brought to it, and a basket of flowers from Kashmir was daily brought to adorn it. Moreover, the harbour offered shelter to seafaring people, and the place was an emporium for trade between Saurashtra and many countries.

MAHMUD LEAVES GHAZNI

Ibn Asir, another Musalman historian, relates that whenever there was an eclipse a hundred thousand Hindus assembled at the Somnath temple for worship, and the shrine was endowed with the produce and revenue of more than ten thousand villages. In the temple, he says, were jewels of most excellent quality and incalculable value. One thousand Brahmans attended daily worship, and a band of three hundred and fifty sang and danced at the gate of the temple, each one of whom received a daily allowance.

Such was the place Mahmud of Ghazni was fired with the desire to loot, and doubtless he was actuated by the zeal of religious fanaticism. The actual date of this, his tenth incursion, is open to a certain amount of doubt. Ibn Asir says he set out from Ghazni in A.D. 1023, while other historians give October A.D. 1025 as the date of starting, and January A.D. 1026 as the date of the sack of Somnath. From other sources, however, we learn that Ghazni was regained in A.D. 1026, and so it is most probable that the year of departure from Ghazni was A.D. 1024.

The strength of the force which Mahmud took with him is estimated as being thirty thousand mounted men, and this army marched by way of Multan and Ajmer to Anhilwad Patan, where the Solanki ruler, Bhimadeo, feeling unequal to offering successful opposition, fled to the fort of Kanthkot, in Kachh. Mahmud took Anhilwad, but did not remain there long and pressed on towards the goal of his ambitions, allowing nothing to stand in his way and sacking numerous towns and temples *en route*. On January 30, A.D. 1025, he reached Prabhas Patan, and immediately assaulted that strongly fortified place. The defenders put up a gallant fight, and the Musalmans were at first driven back on all sides. Next day another and more determined assault was made, and after desperate fighting for nearly the whole day, the attacking force

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effected an entrance into the town. In the two days' fighting, and in the massacre that followed, over fifty thousand Hindus were killed.

The victorious Mahmud at once proceeded to the Somnath temple to find out whether the stories he had heard of its fabulous wealth were true. A vigorous search in pursuit of treasure resulted in the finding of a comparatively small amount, and the Musalmans were beginning to think they would be obliged to return to Ghazni only partially satisfied when Mahmud, in spite of the earnest protestations of the Brahmans—or perhaps because of them—gave orders that the sacred “lingam” should be broken. Accordingly a fire was lighted round it to make the breaking of the idol easier, and on its being smashed a profusion of jewels poured from inside it, such that even Mahmud was satisfied. The total value of the treasure carried off is estimated at £1,050,000, and the famous temple was completely despoiled, even its golden gates being taken away by the conquerors to Ghazni. Al Biruni tells us that a portion of the “lingam” was placed before the door of the mosque in Ghazni, on which people rubbed their feet to clean them from dirt and wet.

Mahmud left Saurashtra as soon as he had collected his treasure, and marched across the Rann of Kachh on an ebb tide to attack Bhimadeo at Kanthkot. It is not known whether this assault was successful or not, but it is certain that the Musalmans did not spend much time over it as they were in a hurry to get back to Ghazni, which they reached eventually via Mansuriyah, in Sind, on April 2, A.D. 1026.

The effects of Mahmud's onslaught were long felt in Saurashtra, and the great temple of Somnath never quite recovered its former reputation and splendour. A Mahomedan Governor, Dabishalim, was left at Prabhas Patan and Mahmud himself contemplated settling there, but afterwards thought better of this idea.

SOMNATH TEMPLE REBUILT

It is not known whether the temple was completely destroyed, but it is more than probable that the fanatical Musalmans left not one stone upon another. We learn the original building was of great size, and was supported by fifty-six pillars of teak-wood carved with lead, ornamented with rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, and each pillar bearing the name of a different ruler in India. One thing certain is that the present ruins of the Somnath temple are not those of the building described above. Hindus seldom, if ever, rebuilt a desecrated temple, and there is no reason for their having made an exception in the case of Somnath, especially since we learn that Bhimadeo of Anhilwad Patan effected a restoration. This restoration is bound to have been so complete that none of the original work could have been apparent. Moreover, a new site must have been utilized, for tradition has it that the temple desecrated by Mahmud stood upon a promontory washed on three sides by the sea. The Temple of Somnath now shown faces the sea on one side only, and, judging from the position of the town walls which surround it, it can never have had sea except on its South side.

Mahmud of Ghazni's was only the first of a series of expeditions against Somnath, for no less than five times subsequently—namely in A.D. 1297, 1318, 1395, 1511, and 1520—did Mahomedan leaders take their men to attack it. The beautiful relic of Hindu architectural art now at Prabhas Patan is doubtless that which was built by Bhimadeo of Anhilwad Patan, and has withstood these five incursions and the ravages of time. To attempt to describe it is wellnigh impossible. It is very massive and imposing, and its inner shrine is octagonal in shape. The stones of which it is composed are cut with great regard being paid to symmetry, and the carving in relief on the exposed sides leaves nothing to be desired from an artistic point of view. The whole building reflects

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the best period of Indian architecture and is quite worthy of the famous Siddha Raj Jaisinha of Anhilwad, who is reputed to have undertaken the adorning of Bhimadeo's building.

The gates of the original Somnath temple, which were taken away to Ghazni, have never been traced, and they are traditionally supposed to have found a resting-place at Medina or Mecca.

CHAPTER VI

(A.D. 1026-1415)

(MAHMUD of Ghazni does not appear to have met with resistance in Saurashtra, excepting at Prabhas Patan, which was at the time of the sack in the hands of the Solankis of Anhilwad.) We find no record of any resistance being offered by the Chudasamas of Wanthali, who were predominant in the peninsula. The Mahomedans cannot have wished for further fighting, especially since they were taking so much loot back to Ghazni with them, and perhaps Ra Noghan's hostility to the Anhilwad Rajas caused him to look on at the sack of Somnath with grim satisfaction. In addition he may have considered discretion to be the better part of valour, for terror of the Musalman invaders must have spread far and wide.

Ra Khengar I succeeded his father on the latter's death in A.D. 1044, and enjoyed a reign of twenty-three years, undisturbed by fighting. His son, Ra Noghan II, followed him in power in A.D. 1067, and ruled with varying fortune for twenty-one years. He suffered defeat at the hands of his hereditary foe, Siddha Raj, King of Anhilwad, and was altogether a truculent personage. Of his four sons, the youngest, Ra Khengar II, was appointed to succeed him on his promising to slay Harraj of Umota ; to destroy the fort of Bhoira, near Jasdan ; to break down the gate of Anhilwad ; and to split the cheeks of a *charan* named Mesan, who had spoken disrespectfully of him. Khengar at his father's deathbed undertook to perform these tasks, and Ra Noghan died happy in A.D. 1098.

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

In about the year A.D. 1090 another family of Rajputs became settled in the Kathiawad peninsula. These were the Jhalas, who formerly ruled at Keranti, near Nagar Parkar in Sind. They were originally known as "Makwana," a word which may be derived from the word Macedonia, the *c* sound being hard. If this theory be correct, the Jhala Rajputs can claim Greek descent. In about A.D. 1055 the Makwanas were driven out of Keranti; and their chief, Kesar Deva, being killed, his son, Harpal Deva, fled to Anhilwad Patan, where he besought protection from Karan Raja, King of Anhilwad. As a reward for certain services, Karan Raja bestowed on Harpal Deva that part of Saurashtra which came to be known as Jhalawad. The cognomen "Jhala" is derived from a Gujarati word *Jhalwu*, meaning "to snatch up," which was acquired by Harpal Deva's wife, who was of the Solanki family, through her rescue of their children from the onslaught of a mad elephant.

(The Jhalas were first settled at Patdi, in the North-East of Saurashtra; but the capital changed from time to time, and Mandal, Kuwa, and Halwad figured in turn as the chief town in Jhalawad, until in A.D. 1730 Dhrangadhra was built, from which place the present head of the Jhala family takes his name.)

There are now, besides the Dhrangadhra family, six minor branches of the Jhalas who hold States of importance in Kathiawad. The Limbdi house can trace its descent as a separate entity to Manguji, second son of Harpal Deva. Wankaner dates from the end of the sixteenth century A.D., when Sultanji, son of Prathiraj, eldest son of Chandrasinhji of Dhrangadhra, seized what now constitutes the State, with the help of the Jam of Nawanagar. Wadhwan formerly, with Wankaner, was part of Dhrangadhra, but dates as a separate State from about the same time as Wankaner, when Ragoji, younger brother of Sultanji, seized it. Chuda and

THE KATHIS ENTER SAURASHTRA

Lakhtar were formed in the early part of the seventeenth century, and Sayla was conquered from the Kathis by Sheshabhai, second son of Raisinhji of Dhrangadhra, some time in the middle of the eighteenth century A.D.

It was some time about the eleventh century A.D. that the Kathis first came to Saurashtra, but of the time of their arrival we have no accurate information. We learn that Ra Khengar (A.D. 1044–1067) had a number of Kathis in his army, and later we learn that Khawadji, one of the sons of Harpal Deva, the founder of the Jhala family, married a Kathi woman and founded the Khawad Kathis. But we possess no earlier records of the tribe which, because of its fighting qualities, afterwards gave its name to the entire province.

The Kathis are generally supposed to have migrated from Sind to Kachh, where they settled at Pavar, and afterwards to have settled in Saurashtra at Than, where they became known as fine fighting men with a special propensity for stealing cattle. The last of the race in Kachh were driven out by Jam Abda, in the fifteenth century. They believe themselves to be descended from the Kaurawas, who in the distant ages before history may be said to have begun, induced Sakuni, King of Gandhara, to gamble with Yadhishthira, the eldest of the five Pandawa brothers. Yadhishthira lost everything, including his kingdom, and the five brothers were compelled to pass a year in seclusion. Duryodhan tried to find them by taking away cattle, which he was unable to do himself on account of his being a Kshatrya. So Karna struck the earth with a stick and immediately a man sprang up where the blow was made. He was given the name "Kathi," which also means "stick," and his descendants ever afterwards took pride in cattle-lifting and plundering. So much for mythical history. It is believed that at the time of Alexander the Great's invasion the Kathis inhabited a portion of the Punjab, and that

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they afterwards migrated to Sind, entering Saurashtra later on. Subsequently a Wala Rajput named Werawal is supposed to have married a beautiful Kathi woman named Rupde, and for marrying out of his class the Rajput was outcasted, and perforce became a Kathi. His descendants became known as "Sakhayat" Kathis, that is, Kathis with substance, while other Kathis became known as "Awaratyas."

Werawal had three sons, Wala, Khuman, and Khachar, who gave their names to the three great Sakhayat divisions of their tribe now existing, and who occupied the part of Saurashtra formerly known as Kathiawad until the Marathas called the whole province by that name. The Kathis were a brave and warlike race, and acquired great reputation from their plundering forays. Their women are said to have been very beautiful, and the breed of Kathi horses became as well known as the peoples who fostered it. They were formerly sun worshippers.

The Kathis are the possessors of a curious marriage custom, which decrees that a Sakhayat must marry an Awaratya, and vice versa. There can surely be no truer example of the democratic ideal than this.

While the Kathis and Jhalas were becoming established in Saurashtra, the Chudasama Ras of Wanthalı were still the most important rulers in the province. Ra Noghan II, before he died in A.D. 1098 removed his capital from Wanthalı to Junagadh, and from that time the latter place began to assume reputation as being the most important fort in the whole province, in course of time surpassing even Prabhas Patan.

On succeeding his father, Ra Khengar II marched against Anhilwad, in the absence of Siddha Raj in Malwa, and broke down one of the gates of the city. The wooden portions of this gate he took back with him to Junagadh as a trophy and erected them in the Kalwa Gateway. He

A VICEROY IN JUNAGADH

thus performed one of the vows made at his father's deathbed, and after this successful foray against Anhilwad he advanced on Umota and slew Harraj. While returning from Gujarat he assaulted and destroyed the fortress of Bhoira, thus carrying out two more of his undertakings. His last task, that of splitting the cheeks of Mesan, the *charan*, he overcame by filling the man's mouth with gold until he cried out (?) that his cheeks were splitting!

After Siddha Raj had returned to his capital, he made up his mind to march against Junagadh and take revenge for the insult offered him in his absence. There was another circumstance, also, which prompted this undertaking. Ra Noghan, his enemy, had married Ranak Devi, whom Siddha Raj himself had wished to marry. Roused to fury, he made a desperate assault on Junagadh, and succeeded in capturing it. Ra Khengar escaped, but was caught and killed in A.D. 1125 near Bagasra, a town about thirty-five miles East of his capital. Ranak Devi was taken by Siddha Raj, and carried away to become his wife. He offered to make her his chief wife if she married him peacefully, but she refused, and having cursed him she burnt herself as a *sati* at Wadhwan.

Siddha Raj left a Viceroy at Junagadh, who remained but a short time, for the people of Junagadh quickly expelled him, and elected a new sovereign, Ra Noghan III, who died in A.D. 1140 and was succeeded by his son, Ra Kawat II, who ruled uneventfully for about twelve years. In A.D. 1152 Jayasinha Chudasama, son of Ra Kawat, ascended the *gadi* of his ancestors under the title of Ra Grahario II. He died about A.D. 1180, after a reign spent chiefly in plundering expeditions into India. He was succeeded by his son Ra Raisinha, who in A.D. 1184 was followed by Ra Mahipal II, known as Gajraj. Gajraj died in A.D. 1201, and his son, Ra Jayamal, succeeded him. Ra Mahipal III succeeded his father on the latter's death in A.D. 1230, and he spent much time

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in fighting against the Kathis. They defeated an army sent against them under one of the Ra's generals, and he was obliged to collect another force and to proceed against them in person. The Raja of Dhank, a Wala Rajput chieftain, supported him, but in spite of the strong combination against them, the Kathis did not suffer serious defeat. They even captured several villages belonging to the Raja of Dhank. They remained undefeated when Ra Mahipal III died in A.D. 1253, and it was left to his son, Ra Khengar III, to complete the work his father had begun. Before his short reign of seven years was ended, he had compelled the Kathis to acknowledge defeat and to take service under him.

Ra Mandlik I ascended the *gadi* in A.D. 1260, at a time when the Mahomedans were beginning to establish themselves in Gujarat, and to change plundering raids into permanent occupation of the country. [The history of the Mahomedans in Gujarat is full of interest, and that of Saurashtra is indissolubly bound up with it. The Chaora and Solanki rulers of Anhilwad had been unable to include the whole of the peninsula within their dominions, although they were undoubtedly powerful enough to assume an overlordship over many parts of it. This course, however, did not suit the Mahomedans, who in course of time changed their position of overlordship for that of permanent occupation; but not, however, until nearly two hundred years after their permanent occupation of Gujarat.]

The great Siddha Raj of Anhilwad died childless in A.D. 1143, and was followed on the *gadi* by Kumarapal, who ruled for thirty years. After his death in A.D. 1173 the Solanki dynasty began to decline in power, and before it ended in A.D. 1244 it was able to put up but a weak defence against the overwhelming onslaught of the Mahomedans. Between A.D. 1178 and A.D. 1241 successive invasions were made. In about A.D. 1179 Shah-

THE GOHEL RAJPUTS

buddin Mahomed Ghori of Ghazni made a raid on Gujarat, but was driven back with loss. Sixteen years later he despatched Kutab-ud-din Aibak with an army, which plundered the country, but returned to Ghazni after doing so. In A.D. 1296 Ala-ud-din Khilji seized the throne of Delhi, and in the next year he sent his wife's brother, Sunjar Khan—more generally known as Alaf Khan—with his Prime Minister, Malik Nasrat Jalesari, into Gujarat. Having plundered Anhilwad he turned his attention to Saurashtra. Advancing on Prabhas Patan he destroyed the temple of Somnath, and occupied all the coast of the peninsula between Gogha and Madhavpur. This belt of country contained all worth having in Saurashtra at that time. It included all the most important seaport towns, and the possession of these alone was a source of great wealth. Moreover, it included the whole of what is known as the Nagher, the long and narrow tract of land near the sea which contains the most fertile soil in the whole of the peninsula.

When Alaf Khan invaded Saurashtra, Ra Mandlik I ruled at Junagadh, and he defeated some portion of the Mahomedan troops. Whether they were under Alaf Khan in person, or were under the command of the Mahomedan Viceroy left to control the newly acquired possessions, is uncertain. The Viceroy, however, cannot have made much difference to the Musalmans.

Some years previous to the incursion of Alaf Khan, another Rajput tribe had settled itself in a portion of Saurashtra. This tribe, known as the Gohel Rajputs, was expelled about A.D. 1240 from Khergadh in Marwar by the Rathods. Sejakji, who was the ruler of the Gohels at the time of their enforced departure from Rajputana, had married his daughter to Ra Khengar III of Junagadh, and this marriage proved to be most fortunate. On Sejakji's arrival in the peninsula, Ra Khengar made his father-in-law a grant of Shahpur in the Panchal district,

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together with twelve other villages. Sejakji built a new village called Sejakpur, where he established himself so firmly that in a few years' time he was able to add to what Ra Khengar had given him by capturing from other neighbouring rulers other villages near.

Sejakji's son founded Ranpur, which he made his capital. But this place was afterwards given up for Sihor, and finally, in A.D. 1723, for Bhavnagar, where the present head of the Gohel family rules, and from which his State takes its name. Lesser branches of the family are now established separately at Palitana, Wala, and Lathi.

The Gohels may derive descent from the ancient kings of Walabhi, chiefly because of the derivation of "Gohel" from "Goha," the name given to the son of Shiladitya VII after Walabhi had been destroyed. It may be noted, however, that there is another theory that the word "Gohel" is derived from *go*, meaning "power," and *ila*, meaning "earth."

In about A.D. 1261 Wanthali is supposed to have passed out of the hands of the Ras of Junagadh, and to have been captured by a Rathod chief named Jagatsinha, in the possession of whose family it remained for over a hundred years. Ra Mandlik I died in A.D. 1306, and for the next two years Ra Noghan IV ruled in Junagadh. Ra Mahipal IV succeeded him in A.D. 1308, and reigned for seventeen uneventful years, when he died and was succeeded by his son Ra Khengar IV. The new ruler determined to rid Saurashtra of the Mahomedan Viceroy in the South, and soon after he began his reign he made a vigorous onslaught on the Viceroy and drove him out of the peninsula. Prabhas Patan and Somnath thus for the first time came under the Chudasama rule, and Ra Khengar rescued the famous temple from the decay into which it had fallen during the Mahomedan occupation of the country and restored it to its former splendour.

MAHAMAD TAGHLAK IN SAURASHTRA

But his success against the Mahomedans was not to be for long, for Mahamad Taghlak Shah marched on Junagadh and spent two rainy seasons in besieging the fort, which he eventually captured. Ra Khengar, however, had his kingdom restored to him, and Mahamad Taghlak returned to Delhi. However, in A.D. 1346 another incident was the cause of a second visit being paid to Saurashtra by the King of Delhi. A cobbler named Taghan, who had been raised to power in Gujarat, raised a rebellion amongst the Gujarat nobles against the Mahomedan Governor. Mahamad Taghlak marched with an army on Anhilwad to restore order, and Taghan fled to Junagadh and sought protection from Ra Khengar. In A.D. 1348 Mahamad Taghlak again led an army against Junagadh and again reduced it. But Taghan fled to Sind, and Mahamad Taghlak, after subduing the coast towns and several petty chiefs, spent the rainy season of A.D. 1349 at Gondal, where he became very ill with fever. When the rains were over, he continued his pursuit of Taghan and entered Sind after him. But his health broke down, and finally he died at Thatha in A.D. 1351 with his object unaccomplished.

Shortly before Mahamad Taghlak came against Junagadh, the Gohel chief, Mokheraji (grandson of Sejakji, the founder of the dynasty) had forwarded the family ambition by capturing Gogha from the Mahomedans, and Piram Island from its Koli inhabitants. He settled in security on Piram, which was strongly fortified. Hearing of the loss of Gogha, Mahamad Taghlak marched against the Gohels, and in A.D. 1347 Mokheraji was defeated and slain, and Gogha recaptured.

In A.D. 1351 Ra Khengar IV also died, and his son, Ra Jayasinha II, succeeded him and ruled for eighteen years, during which time nothing very eventful appears to have taken place in Saurashtra. He was followed by his son, Ra Mahipal V, who in A.D. 1370 recovered

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Wanthali for the Chudasamas. He died three years later and was succeeded by his brother, Ra Muktasinha, whose reign of twenty-four years passed by in peace. It was, however, but the calm before the storm, for after his death Mahomedan incursions into Saurashtra became more and more frequent and severe.

About this time Sultan Muzafer Khan, then a Mahomedan general, began greatly to extend Mahomedan power in Gujarat, and Saurashtra of necessity felt the weight of his sword. In A.D. 1394 he marched with a large army into the peninsula and attacked Wanthali. Ra Muktasinha was powerless to resist the onslaught and quickly surrendered, being required, as the price of defeat, to pay a heavy tribute. He had previously acknowledged the power of the Mahomedans in obeying the order of Sultan Firoz Taghlak's Viceroy in Gujarat to remove his capital from the strongly fortified Junagadh to the less favoured Wanthali, and had agreed to a Mahomedan Viceroy being placed at Junagadh. He had even obeyed the order to take an army against the Jethwa chief, whom he subdued on behalf of the Musalman overlords. And so it may be imagined that the resistance offered to Muzafer Khan was not very stout. After subduing the Chudasama, the Musalman general marched against Somnath, and once again the famous temple suffered desecration and spoliation. This was in A.D. 1395, and from that date Islam began to be firmly established at the place which for centuries had been the very centre of Hindu religion and culture.

In A.D. 1397 Ra Muktasinha died, and was succeeded by his son, Ra Mandlik II, who remained at Wanthali and ruled for only three years.

About this time momentous changes were taking place in Gujarat, the confusion caused by Timur's invasion of India being chiefly responsible. Muzafer Khan had tasted much power as Governor of Gujarat and Saurashtra

PLOTS AND COUNTERPLOTS

under the Emperors of Delhi. But Timur the Tartar's capture of Delhi, and the confusion which ensued after his massacre of the inhabitants of that city, and his subsequent departure, gave Muzafer Khan the chance for which he had waited for throwing off his allegiance and for setting himself up as an independent sovereign. Accordingly in A.D. 1403 he declared his severance from Imperial authority and invested his son, Tatar Khan, with the sovereignty of Gujarat. Tatar Khan died in the following year, and for three years afterwards Muzafer Khan appears to have governed without being formally invested as king. In A.D. 1407, at the request of the nobles and chief men of the country, he formally ascended the throne and ruled until A.D. 1410, when he was poisoned by his grandson, Ahmad Shah, who himself assumed the sovereignty and built the city of Ahmadabad as his capital.

In A.D. 1400 Ra Mandlik died, and his brother, Ra Melak, succeeded him at Wanthali. One of the first acts of Ra Melak's reign was to remove his capital from Wanthali back to Junagadh, from which place he expelled the Mahomedan Viceroy. Ahmad Shah was too much engaged with other matters at first to restore his authority in Saurashtra, but he found opportunity in A.D. 1414. With the change of affairs in Gujarat, the various rulers in Saurashtra, who had been made to acknowledge the iron hand of Muzafer Khan, endeavoured to free themselves from the Mahomedan yoke. Thus we find that not only did Ra Melak defy the authority of Ahmad Shah, but Satarsalji Jhala of Jhalawad imitated his example. As the result of intrigue, Satarsalji was induced to throw in his lot with some Mahomedan nobles of Gujarat, whose idea was to stir up rebellion and oust Ahmad Shah from the sovereignty in the confusion which would ensue. This plan failed ignominiously. After the nobles had been defeated, Ahmad Shah attacked Satar-

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salji Jhala, and drove him to take refuge with Ra Melak of Junagadh.

Ahmad Shah then returned to Gujarat, but he sent an army against Junagadh. Fierce fighting took place at Wanthali, and when this place fell, Junagadh was besieged. This fortress also fell after a short time, but Ra Melak escaped to the small fort on the top of the Girnar Hill, which is practically inaccessible to an invader. There the Mahomedans left him, but they received submission from all the leading nobles of Saurashtra, and left two agents in Junagadh to collect tribute. Ra Melak died in the following year, and was succeeded by his son, Ra Jayasinha III.

With the establishment of a Mahomedan kingdom in Gujarat, having its headquarters at Ahmadabad, Mahomedan influence in Saurashtra began to be very acutely felt. Religion has always been one of the strong propensities of all Hindu peoples, and the Musalman invaders were never renowned for toleration in this respect. Accordingly, Saurashtra was to suffer greatly, for it numbered among its notable places Prabhas Patan, Girnar and Palitana Hills, and Dwarka, all of which were considered very holy to Hindus, and against which Mahomedan aggression was to be principally directed. The Emperor Akbar alone of all the great Mahomedan rulers understood the great advantage to be obtained from religious toleration in a conquered country, and had other rulers been imbued with his ideas of suffering each man to follow his own religious feelings, Mahomedan authority would never have been so particularly loathed as was the case.

The result of such a policy was that fighting between Mahomedans and Hindus was carried on almost without interruption from the time Mahomedan authority began to assert itself. In this respect, Saurashtra and Rajputana suffered very severely, for the proud Rajput rulers,

EFFECTS OF MAHOMEDAN RULE

in addition to being filled with an hereditary love of fighting, would brook no interference in that most precious of human possessions—the power of acknowledging and communicating in prayer with the god which each considers guides his destinies and protects him.

Another reason for the hardships endured by the Hindus under Musalman rule was undoubtedly the utter want of sympathy shown towards them by the conquerors. They made little or no effort to better the conditions of their subject people, and their principal idea was to obtain possession of wealth, and to work throughout for their own aggrandisement. The people's welfare was a very secondary consideration. And so, even when Mahomedan rulers fought among themselves, the result for the Hindus was suffering occasioned from collection of tribute or from a state of war existing. Mahomedan armies moved as a flight of locusts, and the country over which they passed quickly became devastated and cleared of everything eatable or otherwise valuable.

In spite of all these drawbacks, the prosperity of Saurashtra was not greatly lessened. The ports of the South coast still maintained their trade with other ports of India and with foreign countries, and the value of possessing a port in Saurashtra, even after more than two hundred years of Mahomedan domination, appeared so great to the Portugese that they let nothing stand in their way of obtaining one.

CHAPTER VII

(A.D. 1415–1526)

RA JAYASINHA III of Junagadh succeeded his father Ra Melak in A.D. 1415 and had a peaceful reign of twenty-five years, for Ahmad Shah was too fully occupied with affairs in Gujarat and with consolidating his newly acquired power at Ahmadabad to pay much attention to Saurashtra. In A.D. 1420, however, he was obliged to despatch an army to the province to collect arrears of tribute from certain of the chiefs. Sarangji Gohel was ruling in Gohelwad, and on a demand for money being made, his uncle Ramji, who enjoyed considerable power, declared there was not sufficient money in the treasury to satisfy the demand in full, but declared that a portion of the sum could be paid and suggested that Sarangji should be taken as hostage for the remainder! This course the Mahomedans agreed to, and Sarangji was taken to Ahmadabad. His uncle Ramji now usurped his dominions and made no effort to release his nephew by paying off what remained due of the tribute. Sarangji, however, eventually escaped from Ahmadabad and hastened to Saurashtra to recover his possessions. Those supporting Ramji went over to the side of the legitimate ruler, and Ramji, being left unsupported, abdicated in favour of his nephew. He was allowed to remain in Gohelwad, and lived at Dharai, near Monpur.

Jetsinhji Jhala, of Jhalawad, was also visited by the Musalman army under Malik Mahmud Bargi. He opposed

RA MANDLIK ATTACKS DWARKA

their advance with partial success, but found it convenient to change his capital from Patdi to Kuwa.

Ra Jayasinha III died in A.D. 1440 and was succeeded by his brother, Ra Mahipal IV, a man who is said to have been of a very religious turn of mind. He became almost an ascetic, and entertained all pilgrims at Somnath and Dwarka at his own expense. In A.D. 1551 he died, and was succeeded by his son, Ra Mandlik III, who was destined to be the last of the Chudasamas to hold undisputed sway in Saurashtra. Much attention had been paid by his father towards Ra Mandlik's education, and when he succeeded to the *gadi* he is said to have been skilled in all sciences and to have been specially proficient in the use of arms. He was married first of all to a daughter of Bhim Gohel of Arthila, named Kunta Devi, who had been brought up in the house of one Duda Gohel, her uncle.

Ra Mandlik's first military exploit was an expedition against Sangan Wadhel of Dwarka, because that chieftain had omitted to send a present on the occasion of his installation. A successful attack was made against Dwarka, and Sangan Wadhel was taken prisoner but afterwards released, and Ra Mandlik returned in triumph to Junagadh.

Shortly after his return from this expedition, he received a message from the Sultan of Gujarat to the effect that his wife's kinsman, Duda Gohel, was giving trouble and ravaging territory belonging to Gujarat, and he desired Ra Mandlik to persuade Duda Gohel to put an end to his forays. Ra Mandlik replied that the enemies of the Sultan of Gujarat were his own enemies, and he marched against his kinsman. After some fighting Duda Gohel requested Ra Mandlik to desist from troubling him, but Ra Mandlik said it was too late for him to go back since by doing so aspersions would be cast upon his honour. The two then fought a hand-to-hand battle,

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in which Ra Mandlik killed Duda, and, after sacking Arthila, he returned to Junagadh in triumph. Arthila became completely ruined, and the branch of the Gohel family residing there moved to Lathi, where it is settled to this day.

Meanwhile much had been happening in Gujarat. Ahmad Shah died in A.D. 1441 and was succeeded by his son, Mahomed Shah, who was poisoned in A.D. 1451. His son, Kutab-ud-din Shah, succeeded him, and died after reigning only eight years. Fateh Khan, his half brother, a youth of fourteen, was now elected king. In the words of the "Mirat-i-Sikandari," "he added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarat, and was the best of all the Gujarat kings, including all who preceded him and all who succeeded him ; and whether for abounding justice and generosity, for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Musalmans ; for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age ; for power, for valour, and victory, he was a pattern of excellence." This quotation, while displaying very accurately something of the character of the new Sultan, also gives us an insight into what was expected by Musalmans of a Mahomedan ruler.

Fateh Khan took the name of Dinpanah Mahomed on ascending the throne of Gujarat, and to this was afterwards added the title "Begarah," by which he is generally known. The origin of this title is somewhat obscure, but has had two different derivations assigned to it. The more popular is that it is derived from the two Gujarati words *be*, two, and *gadh*, a fort, and that the title was assumed after the capture of the two forts Champaner and Junagadh. The spelling of the Persian, however, conflicts with this, for the letter *r* is shown as soft instead of hard. The other explanation is that in Gujarati the Hindus called a bullock *Bigarh*, because its horns stretched out right and

SULTAN MAHOMED BEGARAH

left like the arms of a person going to embrace, and that the Sultan had moustaches like bullocks' horns, hence his cognomen. He was a great eater, and he was in the habit of saying that he did not know how he would have satisfied his hunger had not God raised him to the throne of Gujarat!

A strong hand was needed in Gujarat to keep all the warring elements in the province in hand, and Mahomed Begarah was soon to show he was determined to be paramount both in Gujarat and in Saurashtra. He first of all settled all troubles near home, and having consolidated his power in Gujarat, he turned his attention towards Saurashtra. The complete conquest of the peninsula appears to have been contemplated for some years before Mahomed Begarah found time in A.D. 1467 to march against Junagadh. In the "Mirat-i-Sikandari" we read that in A.D. 1460 the Sultan one day went out on a hunting expedition, and held a review of his army in the neighbourhood of Kapparbhanj. After reading a prayer he said, "God willing, next year I will found a new city." While he read the Fatihah his face was turned in the direction of Saurashtra, which those present took to be some indication of his thoughts. It is most probable, indeed, that he did contemplate for several years the complete subjugation of the most coveted province adjoining Gujarat, and when he had made up his mind he was not a man to be shaken in his resolve, nor to desist from it until he had carried it out completely. The story goes that Ra Mandlik quarrelled with his chief minister, named Wisal, and this man invited the Mahomedan to invade Ra Mandlik's dominions.

At this time Junagadh appears to have been surrounded on all sides by thick jungle, through which horses could not pass, and which were inhabited by a jungle tribe of small stature known as "Khants." Some remains of these people in the shape of memorial stones

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are to be found even now at Bilkha, a town fourteen miles South-East of Junagadh. Having arrived outside the town, the Mahomedans proceeded to invest it. It happened that Ra Mandlik had taken the precaution to place all the women and children in the Mahabalal defile, to which, if the Uparkot and Girnar forts were taken, the survivors should proceed. Mahomed Begarah discovered this plan, probably from the traitor Wisal, and at once detached a force to hold the pass. The defenders were in small numbers, and Taghlak Khan, the commander of this detachment, quickly accomplished his purpose.

Seeing this, Ra Mandlik made a sally from the Uparkot, but was driven back and finally capitulated. Mahomed Begarah was satisfied with his submission and returned to Ahmadabad. But soon after his return he learnt that when Ra Mandlik went to pray at the temple, a golden umbrella was held over his head and he wore clothes worked with gold and jewels of great value. The assumption of these kingly attributes so offended the Mahomedan that he assembled a force of 40,000 horsemen and sent them against Junagadh in A.D. 1468 with orders that the umbrella and other insignia should be taken from the Ra and brought to Ahmadabad. Hearing of the advance of the army, and of the reason for its coming, Ra Mandlik sent men to meet it, taking with them the articles which had given offence together with a large sum of money as tribute. The army then returned to Ahmadabad, and for another brief respite Junagadh was left in peace.

But next year, in A.D. 1469, Mahomed Begarah again took an army against the unfortunate Ra Mandlik, this time without any preliminary excuse. The Ra, hearing of this, went forward to meet the Sultan, and made complete submission, promising faithfully to perform whatever might be ordered him, and asking the cause of

RA MANDLIK DEFEATED

offence which merited this third invasion of his territory. The Sultan replied that there was no greater offence than that of infidelity, and that if he desired to be spared he must repeat the Mahomedan creed, and embrace altogether that religion. Ra Mandlik, now thoroughly frightened, asked for time to think about this proposal, and that same night fled back to Junagadh.

Mahomed Begarah continued his march, and soon arrived outside the walls of the town, where he found the Ra awaiting him. The forts had been well provisioned in the meanwhile, and had been made ready to withstand a protracted siege. But a great deal of fighting of a desperate description took place outside the Uparkot, resulting in heavy losses on both sides, and after three days the defenders were forced to retire behind the walls of their stronghold. The Mahomedans now entrenched themselves, and for many months the situation remained unchanged. Finally, however, the defending force was reduced to such straits that its position was considered untenable. Accordingly the Ra offered to surrender the Uparkot provided the survivors were allowed to retreat, the object being to retire to the practically inaccessible stronghold at the top of the Girnar Hill. Mahomed agreed to this, but while the Ra and his troops were making their way towards the Girnar, the Musalmans attacked them in force and much desperate fighting took place. As the author of the "Mirat-i-Sikandari" graphically puts it, "Mahomedans in great numbers on that day attained the honour of martyrdom, and Hindus in crowds were sent to hell."

Ra Mandlik, however, and a mere remnant of his forces, made good their escape to the Girnar fort, and succeeded in holding out for some time. But provisions became exhausted, and eventually the Ra was obliged to beg for quarter. This was granted on condition that he embraced Islam. After some negotiations the con-

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dition was agreed to, and Ra Mandlik did homage, gave up the keys of the fort, and repeated the Mahomedan creed after his conqueror. He received the title of Khan Jahan, and Junagadh was renamed Mustafabad. The old name of the province also became changed, and "Saurashtra" gave place to the shorter "Sorath."

Ra Mandlik surrendered in A.D. 1470, and he was the last of the Chudasama dynasty to rule independently the dominions over which its members had held sway for so many centuries. Junagadh became a changed place. Mahomed Begarah himself for some time took up his residence there, and compelled his nobles to build themselves houses in the city. Learned Mahomedan Sayads and Kazis (priests) were sent for from Gujarat, who settled in Junagadh and in other towns in Sorath. Mosques and palaces were erected, and the province became a crown possession. For the collection of revenue and general supervision a Viceroy, styled Thanadar, was placed at Junagadh, and Ra Mandlik's son, Bhupatsinha, was given a "Jagir" (holding) at Shil Bagasra, near Mangrol, where his descendants may be found to this day, occupying the humble position of tillers of the soil. So departed the glory of the Chudasamas, and Mahomedan rule became firmly established in their possessions. Ra Mandlik retired to Ahmadabad, where he died shortly afterwards, and was buried in the Manek Chok of the bazar.

Although Mahomed Begarah had practically subdued Saurashtra by capturing Junagadh, there still remained a small portion of the peninsula which did not acknowledge his authority. This was in the Westernmost corner, where the pirate chief of Jagat, or Dwarka, still maintained his independence. It happened about this time that a certain Mullah, or religious man, named Mahmud Samarkhandi, was on his way to Samarkhand when the pirates captured the ship in which he was sailing and

MAHOMED BEGARAH SACKS DWARKA

turned him and his sons out on to the shore, where they were left. Their women, goods, and ship were confiscated, and the Mullah endured many hardships before he was able to lay his grievances before Mahomed Begarah, who was in Sind at the time.

The sons were both young and could not make the journey through Saurashtra on foot. Accordingly, to add to the Mullah's difficulties he had to carry them—taking one for some distance and then returning to fetch the other. On hearing the accounts of his troubles, the Sultan treated him kindly and decided to subdue the lawless pirates. The Mullah proved most useful in giving him information about the roads and the country through which an army must pass to reach Dwarka, and Mahomed determined he would never rest until the affront to a Musalman were avenged. He sent the Mullah to Ahmadabad, and shortly afterwards completed his preparations and marched against Jagat.

On his reaching that place the inhabitants fled to Sankhodhar, a fortified island about six miles from the shore, where the pirate chief lived, and on which was collected all the valuable plunder taken from his victims. Jagat was left defenceless and was given up to plunder, its temples were destroyed and the idols broken up. After the sack of Jagat, Mahomed marched north to Arambhara, a place about twenty miles from Jagat, and opposite to Sankhodhar Island. The camping ground here was a hotbed of snakes, for the chronicler of Mahomed Begarah's doings tells us that on the first night of its occupation seven hundred such reptiles were killed. Ships were obtained from all available places near by, and being filled with armed men they sailed to attack the island, surrounding it on all sides. A fierce fight took place, which resulted in a landing being effected and in the forces of the Hindus being routed. Many escaped in ships, but were pursued and caught. Their

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temples and idols suffered as at Jagat, the foundations of a mosque were begun, and a Mahomedan named Malik Toghan was left to govern the mainland and island.

All the treasure on Sankhodhar was taken away to Ahmadabad, and the sack of the island recalled in many of its features the taking of Prabhas Patan by Mahmud of Ghazni four hundred and fifty years before. It had always before been immune from attack on account of its inaccessibility, and Mahomed was the first to effect its conquest. The Raja of Dwarka, Bhimaraja, was sent to Ahmadabad, there to be cut to pieces, and a piece of his body hung over each gate of the city ; and with this exhibition of cruelty Mahomed felt his task accomplished and returned home to his capital. Musalman administration was now introduced throughout Sorath. The first Thanadar of Sorath was Tatar Khan, an adopted son of Mahomed Begarah, but before very long the Sultan's eldest son, Mirza Khalil Khan, succeeded him, the Sultan himself journeying to Junagadh for the purpose of installing him.

Shortly afterwards Waghoji Jhala, of Jhalawad, rebelled against the Musalman authority, and the Thanadar was obliged to march against him. The two forces met near the village of Saidpur, six miles north of Dhrangadhra, where a severe engagement took place, resulting in a victory for the Rajput forces. Mirza Khalil Khan then called upon his father for help, and Mahomed Begarah assembled a large army and marched on Kuwa, which place he invested. Waghoji Jhala offered a determined resistance, and but for provisions running short would probably have succeeded in staving off the attacks of his enemies. Finally a counter attack from the fort was decided upon, and the Rajput warriors sallied out with the object of vanquishing their foes or of dying while fighting. Before leaving their strong position, Waghoji Jhala had told the guards of his female apartments to

THE SACK OF KUWA

watch his banner, with orders that if it were seen to fall, his Ranis should burn themselves to death at once. During the fighting the standard-bearer became exhausted and put the banner down, on seeing which the guards proceeded to carry out the instructions given to them. The Ranis, however, threw themselves down a well on hearing the news, and were drowned.

Meanwhile Waghoji Jhala after desperate fighting managed to return to Kuwa, where he heard of the Ranis' fate, and he immediately made up his mind to go forth once more into the fray and to die a soldier's death. He obtained his desire, for after killing many of his enemies he was himself slain, and with him most of his principal officers. Kuwa was sacked, and ceased from that date to be the Jhala capital. Its fate created a great impression, and reference to it is still to this day among the Jhalas indicative of a great misfortune. A Mahomedan Thana was established at Kuwa, and a mosque was built there. The Jhalas had now to seek another capital, and Rajodharji Jhala, the eighth son of Waghoji (whose seven eldest sons had been killed fighting against the Musalmans) chose the site on which Halwad now stands. The story of his selection is that one day soon after the fall of Kuwa, while out hunting, a hare came out of the jungle and faced him instead of running away. Rajodharji attributed the hare's unusual courage to the good quality of the soil, and in A.D. 1488 he founded Halwad near the spot.

The next twenty years proved peaceful for Saurashtra, their quiet only being disturbed by dynastic troubles of the Jhalas. Rajodharji Jhala died in A.D. 1500, leaving three sons and one daughter. The two eldest sons, Ajoji and Sajoji, and the daughter, Raba, had for their mother a lady from Idar, in Gujarat. The mother of Ranoji, the third son, was the daughter of Lakhadhirji, the Parmar Chief of Muli. When Rajodharji lay at the

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point of death, his father-in-law, Lakhadhirji, arrived with a large following from Muli, ostensibly to be near his son-in-law when the latter died, but in reality to endeavour to get his grandson, Ranoji, placed on the *gadi*. He was so far successful that when Rajodharji died and the two elder sons left Halwad to attend his funeral, he locked the gates of the town and distributed money freely, with the result that when Ajoji and Sajoji returned, they found the doors shut against them and were obliged to go elsewhere.

After a couple of months, finding that Ranoji's accession was favoured by the people, they journeyed to Ahmadabad to lay their grievance before the Sultan of Gujarat. But in this also they were forestalled, for Lakhadhirji's emissaries had preceded them and, after paying a sum of two lakhs of rupees, had obtained a confirmation of Ranoji's accession. The discomfited heirs journeyed into Gujarat and Rajputana, where they found service under the Raja of Chitor. They never recovered their lawful property, and died exiles in the country of their adoption. Ranoji some twenty years later was assassinated by a Mahomedan named Malik Bakhan.

About this time affairs connected with the island of Diu began to assume a position of special importance among happenings of interest in Saurashtra. A seafaring nation from the West had established itself on the coasts of India and was beginning to find out the places from which the great trade routes between India, Northern Africa, China, and the Persian Gulf could be controlled, with the idea of diverting towards themselves some portion of the riches and trade passing through those places. Their attention was inevitably drawn to Saurashtra, and the acquisition of the valuable seaport towns of that province and of Gujarat became one of the principal objects of their policy. So far as Saurashtra was concerned, however, after finding that the principal

THE PORTUGESE COVET DIU

seaports were under the rule of the Sultans of Gujarat, the Portugese decided to procure, if possible, a grant of land, with permission to erect upon it for themselves a factory capable of being defended. In pursuance of this plan they endeavoured to obtain possession of the island of Diu, chiefly because of its excellent position from a defensive point of view.

Diu is an island about nine miles long and two miles wide, with an area of twenty square miles, at the Southern-most extremity of Saurashtra, from which it is separated by a narrow belt of the sea. It has a very ancient history dating from about the fourth century A.D., when its name was Dibu or Divu, and its inhabitants known to ancient writers as Divaei or Diveni. Philostorgius, the Greek historian, says that "Constantius sent an embassy to the Homeritæ, at the head of which embassy was placed Theophilus the Indian, who had been sent when very young as a hostage from the Dibæans to the Romans when Constantine was at the head of the Empire. . . . Theophilus, having arranged everything with the Homeritæ, crossed over to the island of Dibu, which, as we have showed, was his native country." This must have been about A.D. 356. It is, however, open to doubt as to whether Diu is meant or Ceylon. Hindu legend tells that Diu was not an island until the middle of the eighth century A.D., and describes how at the end of the seventh century a Parmar Rajput named Vacharaja set up a principality at Diva Kotta (or Diva Pattana), and was succeeded by his son Veniraja. But after the dynasty had ruled for seventy-one years, Veniraja was drowned by an inundation of the sea, which made Diu an island. This account thus differs so much from that of Philostorgius, that we can only read both with interest but without accepting entirely the Greek account as referring to Diu, or the bard's story as genuine history. It is to be noted, however, that there is now one family

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of Parmar Rajputs in Kathiawad, that of the ruling house of Muli in Jhalawad, where they form one more of the many diverse peoples inhabiting the peninsula.

Before the Portugese coveted Diu, however, it was a well-known place, and of such importance as a naval base that in A.D. 1510 the representative of the Sultan in Sorath moved his capital from Junagadh to Diu so as to be able to operate the more conveniently with the Sultan against the ravages of the European invaders. Previous to this, Mahomed Begarah had made a favourite slave, named Malik Aiaz, Governor of Diu, and in A.D. 1507 this man collected a fleet and sailed against the Portugese at Chaul, where a battle ensued. He lost four hundred men, but inflicted a defeat upon his enemies. This feat greatly pleased Sultan Mahomed Begarah, and he showed great favour to his erstwhile slave, sending him a robe and other marks of honour.

On November 22, A.D. 1511, the great Mahomed Begarah died, and was succeeded by his son Muzafar Shah II, who ruled until A.D. 1526, when he died. He was succeeded by his son, Sikandar Shah, who lived but three and a half months after his father's death before dying at the hands of an assassin.

Mahomed Shah II, younger brother of Sikandar Shah, now ascended the throne of Gujarat. But he only ruled for three months before being deprived of the kingdom by an elder brother, who had before been driven out and now returned to rule as Bahadur Shah.

CHAPTER VIII

(A.D. 1504–1572)

THE various processes by which the Portugese acquired their settlements in India form some of the most interesting episodes in its history. It was on May 22, A.D. 1499, that the navigator Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut, on the Malabar coast, after having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and after having had a venturesome voyage across the then unknown seas separating Africa from India. He set out on his return journey to Lisbon in September of the same year, and his accounts of the wealth of India were so inspiring that in the following year an expedition under Pedro Alvarez Cabral was despatched from Portugal. This expedition arrived at Calicut the same year, and the first Portugese factory was founded there, which was broken up, however, on the return of the expedition to Lisbon in A.D. 1501.

Two years later Alfonso da Albuquerque arrived in India in command of a third expedition, who saw that if trade was to be maintained, the settlers must fortify their settlements so as to be able to engage in commerce with safety. Accordingly he established a factory and built a fort at Cochin, and three years later, taking a fleet of sixteen ships and a number of troops, he settled at and fortified Goa and began trading and fighting on a large scale. Using Goa as his base, he sought far and wide for the places he desired which could control all the export and import trade of Western India, and the routes by which such trade passed. This search inevit-

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ably led him Northwards towards Gujarat and Saurashtra, and his arrival off those coasts created consternation and a certain amount of fear among the inhabitants. He had established such a reputation for himself and the Portuguese arms by the capture of Calicut and Goa, that dread of him had spread far and wide. In A.D. 1507 a Portuguese fleet arrived at Chaul, where we have already seen that Malik Aiaz, Governor of Sorath, sailed against it and defeated it with loss.

But this reverse only checked for a time the Portuguese advance, and at the end of A.D. 1508 another expedition was sent Northwards under Dom Francisca da Almeida, which came up with a Musalman fleet under Malik Aiaz and Emir Hussain off Diu. On February 2, 1509, an engagement was fought, which resulted after a whole day's fighting in the complete defeat of the Mahomedans, the losses, as computed by the Portuguese, being twenty-two Portuguese slain and three thousand of their enemies. Next year Mahomed Begarah offered Diu to the Portuguese, but Albuquerque considered that he had not sufficient forces to hold it, owing to its proximity to powerful enemies, active and potential, and accordingly he refused the offer, intending to obtain possession of the island when circumstances became more favourable. Three years later, Albuquerque sailed to Aden, which he failed to capture, and returned to India by way of the Persian Gulf. After capturing Ormuz, the chief seat of Persian commerce, he sailed to Diu. By this time Malik Aiaz had assumed a certain independence of the Sultan of Gujarat, whom he nominally served, and when Albuquerque asked that the gift of Diu made three years earlier should be ratified, he bitterly opposed the suggestion, and submitted that the Portuguese should not be allowed to build a fort on the island. Eventually, however, he consented to the establishment of a factory, whereupon Albuquerque left

DEATH OF MALIK AIAZ

one ship at Diu and sailed with the remainder of the fleet to Goa.

In A.D. 1523 Malik Aiaz fell into disgrace as the result of his assumption of independence of his sovereign, and died the same year while still holding charge of the administration of Sorath at Diu. Malik Aiaz, supposed by some authorities to have been a renegade Portugese turned Mahomedan, had had an adventurous life. Originally a purchased slave, he obtained in course of time such influence over Sultan Mahomed Begarah that he rose to be one of the principal men in the service of that sovereign. On being appointed to the Governorship of Sorath he lost no time in perceiving that a Portugese footing in the province could result in the establishment of a colony as at Goa, and he immediately set himself to oppose the realization of the idea by every means in his power. His victory at Chaul increased his prestige, and the fact of his having removed the headquarters of the administration of Sorath from Junagadh to Diu strengthened his position in every way. The Portugese were thus unable to occupy the island by a sudden attack, and the circumstance formed an excellent reason against the peaceful surrender of the fort by the Sultan at Ahmadabad.

Malik Aiaz fortified Diu, laid out gardens on the island, and built a bridge connecting it with the mainland. He lived in regal splendour, and many tales are told of his liberality and generosity. On several occasions he was called upon for assistance, both by Mahomed Begarah and by Mahomed Shah II, and on each occasion distinguished himself. But finally his pride overcame his prudence, and he quarrelled with other nobles, eventually bringing the wrath of Sultan Muzafar Shah II on his head in A.D. 1523 on account of his independent conduct during a campaign against Rana Sanka, Raja of Chitor. Malik Aiaz left three sons, one of whom, Malik Ishak, afterwards attained a certain notoriety.

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In A.D. 1523 Mansinhji of Jhalawad succeeded his father Ranoji, who had been assassinated by the Mahomedan Malik Bakhan, and he at once determined to avenge his father's death. Accordingly he marched on Dasada and took that place, killing Shahjio, the son of Malik Bakhan. Sultan Bahadur Shah was at that time absent in Malwa, so he sent Khan Khanan against Mansinhji, who was soon defeated and obliged to save his life by flight. He made his way to Kachh, where he sought refuge with the Rao of that country. The whole of Mansinhji's possessions were confiscated by the Sultan, and the outlaw and his two brothers occupied themselves in making repeated forays against the Mahomedans in Jhalawad. Finding, however, that this plan of action did not result in his being reinstated in his dominions, Mansinhji eventually decided to throw himself on the mercy of Sultan Bahadur Shah and to surrender to him in person. Shortly afterwards he took advantage of one of the Sultan's visits to Diu to carry out his design, and arming himself from head to foot, he obtained admission to the camp and presented himself before the Sultan in his sleeping-tent. He replied to a query as to who he was by saying he had come to ask for the restitution of Jhalawad to himself, as he was the outlaw Mansinhji. At the same time he made complete submission by placing his weapons before the Sultan. Bahadur Shah was touched by his bearing and pluck, and after hearing the account of his doings since he was deprived of his State, he treated him generously and restored to him the property of which he had been dispossessed, but with the exception of Mandal and Virangam.

After the death of Malik Aiaz, the Sultan of Gujarat appears to have realized the wisdom of his Viceroy's policy in doing all in his power to prevent the Portugese from establishing themselves on the coasts of Gujarat and Saurashtra, for he made numerous visits to Cambay,

THE FLIGHT OF MALIK ISHAK

Broach, and Diu. In A.D. 1527, while at Cambay, Malik Ilias, one of the sons of Malik Aiaz, informed him that his elder brother, Malik Ishak, had been instigated by certain chiefs in Saurashtra to revolt. He had marched with a force of five thousand horsemen from Nawanagar towards Diu, intending to take that island, and after plundering it to hand it over to the Portugese, who were in the neighbourhood. The Sultan immediately gave orders for his army to march to the relief of Diu, and proceeded to Jasdan and thence to Deoli, a place near Junagadh, where he learnt that Malik Ishak on hearing of the advance of the army had fled towards the Rann of Kachh. Remaining encamped at Deoli, the Sultan despatched one of his generals, Khan Khanan, to pursue the offender, and to bring him back alive or dead. Before the Khan could come up, the Mahomedan Governor of Morvi, Taghlak Khan, came out to attack Malik Ishak, but was defeated, and the rebel made good his escape across the Rann. After waiting for ten days at Deoli, the Sultan marched to Mangrol, then to Chorwad, and after that to Diu. He remained about a month in the neighbourhood of the island, and after placing new governors both at Diu and Junagadh, he returned home. In the following year he again visited Diu, but remained there only a short time.

Later on in the same year, while at Cambay, news came to him from Diu that a Portugese ship had come into the harbour, and had been captured by the Governor, who had imprisoned the crew and seized the cargo. The Sultan immediately proceeded once more to Diu, where the prisoners were paraded before him, and allowed to choose between embracing Mahomedanism or death. Musalman writers declare the former course was taken by all, but the Portugese historians deny that any such conversion to Islam was made. Two years later the Sultan again visited Diu, there to meet a party of Turks

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

under one Mustapha, who had come in a fleet of ships to take part in the defence of Diu against the Portugese. A new governor of Diu was now appointed in the person of Malik Toghan, third son of Malik Aiaz, after which Bahadur Shah returned to Cambay.

In A.D. 1531 the Portugese captured Mangrol, and the next year again endeavoured to obtain possession of Diu, but with no more success than had attended their previous attempts. A large force sailed as far as the island, but got no farther, and was obliged to retreat. Shortly after this Gujarat passed temporarily out of the rule of Bahadur Shah. A quarrel arose between him and the Emperor Humayun of Delhi over the shelter afforded a fugitive from the Emperor's dominions. Bahadur Shah wrote an insolent letter, after receiving which Humayun decided to attack him. Sultan Bahadur Shah affected to despise the Emperor, and treated the news of his advance so lightly that although he was besieging Chitor at the time, he did not desist from the siege nor prepare to make a stand against the powerful foe whose anger he had invoked. He succeeded in capturing Chitor, but was too late to recover after the trials of the siege to make adequate preparations against Humayun's attack. Consequently, when the two armies met the result was almost a foregone conclusion. The army of Gujarat was routed and Bahadur Shah fled by way of Cambay to Diu, while Humayun and his army overran the Sultan's dominions, and did not desist until he was obliged to return to Agra on account of news being received of a rebellion in Behar. He left governors at all the important places in Gujarat, and the whole of the Sultan's dominions except Saurashtra came under the sway of the Emperor of Delhi.

Scarcely had Humayun left the country, however, when all the nobles of Gujarat rose against the governors he had left, and on his being requested to join in an

THE PORTUGESE BUILD DIU FORT

effort to regain the kingdom, Bahadur Shah left Diu and returned to Ahmadabad. The whole of Gujarat joined the Sultan in his effort to drive out the Moghals and to recover his country, and after a little fighting the Moghal governors were expelled, and Bahadur Shah again ruled.

During his enforced retreat at Diu the Sultan had made friends with the Portugese, who had shown him much honour and had promised him all assistance in recovering his kingdom. After many protestations of friendship had taken place on both sides, the Portugese preferred a request for permission to build a fort, saying that merchants who came to Diu were obliged to leave their goods in insecure places, and their request was granted. History relates that they asked for only so much land as a cow's hide covered, but when permission had been given, the hide was cut into very narrow strips, which were joined together, and a wall was built round the land so enclosed. But credence can scarcely be given to this story. The Sultan returned to Gujarat, and after he had gone the fort was rapidly and solidly built and strongly fortified. A treaty of alliance was made between the Sultan and Nuno da Cunha, Viceroy of Portugese India. After regaining his dominions, Bahadur Shah regretted having allowed the Portugese to build a fort from which they could not be evicted without great difficulty. Towards the end of A.D. 1535 he arrived at Diu with the intention of getting the Portugese Commander into his possession and by using him as a hostage to oblige his men to leave the fort. But the Commander suspected some treachery, and was on his guard against it from the time he heard of the Sultan's return to the village of Khokata, on the mainland opposite the island, where he had encamped.

One of the Sultan's attendants, Nur Mahamad Khalil by name, was sent to the fort with instructions to bring the Commander to the mainland by whatever artifice.

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He was well received and hospitably treated, with the result that he partook of too much wine, and on being asked by the Portugese what the Sultan's intentions were, replied in such a way that the suspicion of treachery in the Commander's mind became confirmed. The Sultan's attendant remained a night in the fort, and next morning was informed by the Commander that he regretted he was unwell and unable to visit the Sultan. Nur Mahamad Khalil then returned to his master's camp, and fearing Bahadur Shah's displeasure, only told him part of what had been the result of his interview, declaring, indeed, that the Portugese Commander could not visit him through fear. To remove this supposed apprehension, the Sultan determined to go himself and reassure the Commander, hoping to induce him to pay a visit to his camp afterwards. Accordingly, taking with him six unarmed attendants, he crossed the creek in a boat on February 14, 1537, and entered the fort. Every honour was there shown him. Gold-embroidered cloths were set down for him to walk on, and vast quantities of rose-water were strewn about to allay the dust and to remove the odour of the sea. Plates of gold and jewels were waved round the Sultan's head, and he was seated on a chair of honour.

Some conversation ensued, and at a prearranged signal the Portugese drew their swords. Bahadur Shah now saw his plans had miscarried and had been turned against himself, and he endeavoured to regain his boat with his officers. He had almost reached it when he was killed by a sword-cut, all the attendants also being killed, and their bodies thrown into the sea. It is supposed that after Bahadur Shah had regained possession of his territory, he had written to certain kings in the Deccan, inviting an alliance against the Portugese, and that one such letter had come into the hands of the Portugese Viceroy at Goa. News of the intended treachery was

THE JADEJAS RULE HALAWAD

at once sent to the Commander of the Diu fort, who was thus prepared to meet his erstwhile ally on equal terms.

On the death of Bahadur Shah II, his nephew, Mahomed Shah Asiri, was invited by the nobles of Gujarat to be Sultan, but he died shortly after his accession and was succeeded by another nephew of Bahadur Shah, Mahomed Khan III, who was at the time of his uncle's death in confinement and living at Biawal in Khandesh. He had been born in Saurashtra in A.D. 1526, and was thus eleven years old at the time of his accession.

Meanwhile the North-West part of Saurashtra had begun to be the centre of some activity, and the Jadeja Rajputs from Kachh had become engaged in establishing themselves in the peninsula. The earlier history of the Jadejas coincides with that of the Chudasamas, for both —together with the Bhatias of Jesalmir in Rajputana— are descended from Narpat, Chief of the Samas of Nagar Thatha in Sind. After the departure of the Chudasamas to Saurashtra in the latter part of the ninth century, the Jadeja branch of the family remained in Sind, subsequently at various times invading the peninsula, directing their attacks in every case against the Jethwas. In the middle of the thirteenth century Lakha Ghurara was ruler of the tribe under the title of Jam. Of his eight sons the eldest, Jam Unad, succeeded his father, but was afterwards killed by his brothers Muda and Manai, who, fleeing with two other brothers, Sandha and Phula, to Kachh, drove out the tribes there and established their own rule. In about A.D. 1313, during one of their incursions, they conquered and destroyed Ghumli, causing the Jethwas to move south to Chhaya; but they did not remain in Saurashtra and returned to Kachh. Subsequently, in about A.D. 1535, they again invaded the province under Jam Rawal Hala, who had been driven out of Kachh after murdering Hamirji, the ruling chief.

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Jam Rawal settled in A.D. 1540 at Nagnah Bandar (Nawanagar) and consolidated his rule in what was known as "Halawad." This has since assumed its present form of "Halar," by which the North-West portion of Saurashtra is known. The name "Halawad" was given to Jam Rawal's dominions on account of his descent from Jam Hala, and of himself being known as "Halani." Subsequently other branches of the Jadeja family became established round about Nawanagar territory. Dhrol was captured from Dham Chaora by Hardholji, brother of Jam Rawal, some time between A.D. 1540 and 1560. In A.D. 1697 Jam Pragmalji of Kachh murdered his brother Revaji, and then placed the latter's son Kanyoji in command at Morvi (or Morbi), where his descendants still rule. Rajkot came under the Jadejas in the latter part of the sixteenth century, when Vibhoji, third son of Jam Sataji, conquered it with the aid of his father. Gondal is also in possession of the Jadejas, the State having been founded by Jadeja Kumbhoji in A.D. 1634. He afterwards obtained possession of the towns of Dhoraji, Upleta, and Bhayawadar, built forts, and established himself firmly.

Scarcely were the Jadejas settled in the Northern parts of Saurashtra when Diu again became the scene of much fighting. In A.D. 1538 a Turkish fleet under Suleman Pasha having captured Aden sailed to Diu and blockaded it. Mahomed Khan III, seeing in this an excellent opportunity for ousting the Portugese, marched with a strong force to assist the Turks, and besieged the fort of Diu from the land side. The beleagured garrison under Dom Antonio da Silveira fought gallantly, and succeeded in informing the Viceroy at Goa of their plight. After a siege lasting many months reinforcements in small boats successfully evaded the blockading fleet, and this timely aid saved the garrison from annihilation, and Portugal from the loss of one of her most prized posses-

SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE OF DIU

sions in India. All the desperate assaults made on the fort were repulsed, and in November A.D. 1538 the Turks sailed away to Arabia, the Sultan also abandoning the siege.

In A.D. 1546 Diu was again attacked, this time by a renegade Albanian named Khoja Zulgar, who had been taken up by the Sultan of Gujarat. The Governor of the fort, by name Dom Joao de Mascarenhas, defended himself with great valour, and after repulsing all assaults the Portugese sallied out under Dom Joao da Castro and inflicted a crushing defeat on the besiegers. Khoja Zulgar was killed in the engagement, and the Portugese inflicted punishment on the Sultan of Gujarat by sailing along the coast to Cambay, which they burnt, and to Surat, which they sacked. As a reward for this victory, King John III of Portugal sent da Castro a commission as Viceroy of Portugese India, but he only lived to enjoy his new honour for fourteen days, dying at Goa on June 6, 1546, in the arms of his friend St. Francis Xavier.

The Portugese were now very firmly established at Diu, and found an island to be very suitable for defence and fortification. Accordingly they appropriated several islands off the south coast of Sorath, among them Shiyal Island, which they fortified strongly and held until A.D. 1739, when they were obliged to concentrate on Diu after the capture of Bassein by the Marathas.

After the sack of Surat in A.D. 1548, Sultan Mahomed Khan III concluded a treaty with the Portugese, by which the fort of Diu was to be retained by them, while the Mahomedans were to have the city and the rest of the island. Diu was not again attacked by Mahomed Khan or his successors, and the whole island subsequently came into Portugese possession.

For many years after the death of Bahadur Shah II, comparative peace prevailed in the province of Sorath, broken only by the happenings at Diu and various petty

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quarrels between some of the chiefs. A crisis was passing over the kingdom of Gujarat, and after the death of Bahadur Shah that country became a centre of intrigue. The nobles formed themselves into several factions, each party endeavouring to set up its own puppet as ruler of the country. These rulers were for the most part minor and but rulers in name, and the result of the unsatisfactory state of affairs was that the supremacy Gujarat had enjoyed over all neighbouring countries soon became a thing of the past, and general discontent and disorder pervaded the land. The quarrels and ambitions of the nobles sowed the seed of destruction which was to overtake them. Saurashtra did not suffer very greatly from this state of affairs in Gujarat. It cannot be said to have progressed, but it was spared for a time the incursions of the armies, which although a negative aid to progress had at least its effect.

The most important event in the province during these years of strife in Gujarat occurred in Jhalawad, where Raisinhji Jhala in A.D. 1564 succeeded his father, Mansinhji, who had been given back his lands by Sultan Bahadur Shah. Shortly after Raisinhji's accession he quarrelled with several of his neighbouring petty chiefs, and on one occasion went to Dhrol to visit his maternal uncle, Jasoji Jadeja. While playing a game of cards with his uncle, a sound of drums was heard, whereat Jasoji caused inquiries to be made as to who was guilty of the affront offered him by sounding drums within sight of Dhrol. The offender happened to be an ascetic named Makan Bharti, who was going to Dwarka, on hearing which Jasoji's anger was appeased. Raisinhji then inquired what would happen were another chief to sound a drum within sight of Dhrol, and Jasoji replied that any one doing so would have his drums broken. Raisinhji Jhala thereupon left for Halwad, and assembling an army, marched to Dhrol and sounded his drums there.

THE BATTLE OF DHROL

Jasoji in vain tried to stop him. The armies then closed and a fight ensued in which Jasoji was mortally wounded. Before he died he said that Sahebji Jadeja, brother of the Rao of Kachh, would avenge his death. This message was taken by a *charan* to Kachh, and on hearing of the duty imposed upon him, Sahebji made all haste to depart, being aided by his brother the Rao, who was anxious to get him away from Kachh.

Sahebji crossed the Rann, and a fierce engagement took place near Malia, where the Jadeja was killed and Raisinhji left for dead on the battlefield. The Jhala Chief recovered, however, and as soon as he was strong enough to undertake the journey he went to Delhi. Meanwhile Khan Khanan had been ordered to march against Sultan Muzafar Khan of Gujarat, and Raisinhji met him on the way, and laid his case before him, pointing out that he had been left for dead and would not be recognized if he returned to Jhalawad. The General, however, advised returning and declaring himself, which advice was followed with complete success, only marred, however, by all his wives but one refusing to return to him, saying they regarded him as dead.

Events in Gujarat, the state of which country had been going from bad to worse, now took a decided course. Mahomed Khan III died in A.D. 1554, whereupon the nobles elected a youth named Ahmad Khan, a descendant of Ahmad Shah I, to sit upon the throne with the title of Ahmad Shah II. On account of the new Sultan's minority a certain Itimad Khan was appointed Regent. This man, after passing through various vicissitudes, finally caused Ahmad Shah to be assassinated in A.D. 1560, and by means of his influence another minor was proclaimed Sultan as Muzafar Shah III. The very unsatisfactory state of affairs quickly became worse. Itimad Khan quarrelled with all the nobles, who defeated him in a battle near Ahmadabad in A.D. 1571, with the imme-

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diate result that he appealed to the Emperor Akbar of Delhi for help. Akbar was not slow to seize the opportunity he had been awaiting to add Gujarat to his dominions, and early in A.D. 1572 he marched Southwards with a large army. After some fighting he captured Muzafar Shah and Ahmadabad, and established Moghal rule throughout the province, appointing Viceroys to administer it. Saurashtra remained for a time separate from Gujarat, but finally it passed after some fighting under the Emperor's rule, to remain so until Ahmadabad was captured by the Marathas in A.D. 1753, and the Moghal power in Western India declined and finally disappeared.

CHAPTER IX

(A.D. 1572–1692)

IN A.D. 1556 Itimad Khan had made a so-called division of Gujarat among the various nobles, and had allotted Sorath to Tatar Khan Ghori, Governor of the province. The formal allotment was probably made with the idea of gaining a powerful friend, for Tatar Khan had become virtually independent of Gujarat after the death of Bahadur Shah. Some time between A.D. 1570 and 1575 he died, and was succeeded by his son, Amin Khan Ghori. Great confusion now reigned in Saurashtra. All central authority was removed and the several rulers engaged in a game of land grabbing, the principal offender in this respect being Jam Satarsal of Nawanagar, who waged his wars so successfully that he became completely independent, owing suzerainty to none. After conquering Gujarat, the Emperor Akbar decided to reduce Sorath to his authority, and ordered Wazir Khan, who was appointed Deputy Viceroy of Gujarat in A.D. 1575, to attempt the task of subjugation. Mirza Khan, the General deputed for the task, found he was unable to carry out the orders. Marching into Sorath with a force of 4000 mounted men, he was met just over the frontier between the two provinces by a messenger from Amin Khan Ghori, who sent word to say he agreed to pay tribute and surrender the country, on the condition of his being allowed to retain Junagadh fort, and that a grant of land be given him. These proposals did not satisfy the Moghal General, and he continued his march

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against Amin Khan, who prepared to defend himself. Amin Khan applied for aid to Jam Satarsal of Nawanagar, who, only too glad of an opportunity of fighting, sent an army to the relief of Junagadh, which had meanwhile been invested. Mirza Khan was compelled to raise the siege of that place, and withdrew to Mangrol. Here he was followed by the united forces of Junagadh and Nawanagar, and retired Eastwards to Kodinar, where he was obliged to fight a pitched battle. In the fight he was wounded, and lost the whole of his baggage and elephants, escaping himself with difficulty to Ahmadabad with the remnant of his forces.

In A.D. 1583 an upheaval took place in Gujarat as the result of the escape of the erstwhile Sultan, Muzafer Shah, from custody, and his arrival in his former dominions. In this year Itimad Khan was appointed Viceroy in Gujarat, and it was about this time that Muzafer Shah sought help and protection from a Kathi chief named Loma Khuman, at Kherdi, in Saurashtra. Gathering together an army composed of about four thousand Kathi horsemen and a body of eight hundred discontented Moghal soldiers, Muzafer Shah marched on Ahmadabad, which happened to be weakly defended. The new Viceroy had not yet arrived from Delhi, and when he got to within a few miles of the city he received the news of its fall. Nothing daunted, he marched on, but was vigorously attacked by Muzafer Shah and routed, losing all his baggage and being fortunate to escape with his life. As soon as intelligence reached the Emperor Akbar at Delhi of what was happening in Gujarat, he appointed Mirza Khan to the Viceroyalty, and sent him with a large army to recover the lost province. Muzafer Shah, who was at Broach, heard of his advance and set out at once for Ahmadabad. The two armies met outside the city, and in the fight which ensued Muzafer Shah was completely defeated and fled to Rajpipla. From

MUZAFAR SHAH ESCAPES

place to place he went, until he finally took refuge at Kherdi once again with the Kathi chief, Loma Khuman. He now endeavoured to interest Amin Khan Ghori of Junagadh and Jam Satarsal of Nawanagar on his behalf. Amin Khan gave him the then waste town of Gondal, and, collecting a small army, the fugitive marched against Radhanpur, which he plundered. But the forces of the Emperor of Delhi were too strong for him, and he was soon forced once more to take refuge in Saurashtra.

Amin Khan Ghori now began to see the hopelessness of Muzafar Shah's cause, and feared rendering assistance openly in case the wrath of Akbar should be directed against himself also. Consequently his offers of aid were only pretence, and he managed to induce the former Sultan to hand over to him a sum of one lakh of rupees in return for support, which first on one pretext and then on another was never given. The Viceroy now marched into Sorath, and Jam Satarsal and Amin Khan at once sent him envoys, declaring that the fugitive was receiving no aid whatever from them. Muzafar Shah gained the shelter of the Barda Hills, in which he was left to be hunted down. The Viceroy marched against him, after giving Jam Satarsal and Amin Khan plainly to understand that any aid rendered by them to the fugitive would result in his directing his attack against themselves, at which they promised complete neutrality. The Viceroy marched to Upleta, and thence to the Barda Hills, on the outskirts of which he halted and sent parties of small size to scour the jungle country. Muzafar Shah, learning of his arrival, left the shelter of the hills and, passing through Nawanagar territory, entered Gujarat, where his following was again defeated, and he was once more driven to seek refuge in Rajpipla.

The Viceroy now accused Jam Satarsal of breaking his promise of neutrality, and marched Northwards on Nawanagar. The Jadeja chief, however, submitted before

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it was too late, and, after fining him to the extent of an elephant and some horses, the Viceroy accepted his submission and returned to Gujarat.

But Saurashtra had not yet seen the last of Muzafar Shah. In A.D. 1591 he again returned, and his cause was again espoused—this time with more genuineness—by Daulat Khan Ghori of Junagadh (son of Amin Khan Ghori, who had died about the previous year), and Jam Satarsal. The Kathi chief, Loma Khuman, also again came to his assistance. The Viceroy of Gujarat, Mirza Aziz Kokaltash, again collected an army and marched as far as Viramgam. Thence Nauroz Khan and Sayad Kasim were sent forward to Morvi with troops, and on arrival there a letter was despatched to Jam Satarsal directing him to surrender Muzafar Shah. This he refused to do, and, instead he began to harass the advanced guard, killing stragglers, carrying off horses and elephants, and entirely cutting off supplies. When the Viceroy at Viramgam heard the result of the mission, he hurried to reinforce the troops at Morvi with the main body. Rain and mud delayed the army, but eventually it arrived near Dhrol on its way to attack Nawanagar. At a place called Buchar Mori, about one mile North-West of Dhrol, the two armies came face to face. Several skirmishes took place preliminary to the big engagement, and it soon became apparent to Jam Satarsal that Loma Khuman and Daulat Khan intended to desert him, or at least to fight but half-heartedly. He therefore left his army under Jasa Ladak, his Minister, and rode off to Nawanagar to prepare his household for flight. It happened that his son Ajoji was at that time being married in Nawanagar, but seeing his father's anxiety he immediately set out for Dhrol and joined the army just before the big fight took place.

The two armies were drawn up facing each other, the leaders of each side commanding their respective

THE BATTLE OF BUCHAR MORI

centres. The Viceroy's left wing was commanded by Mahomed Ragi, while the right was under the command of Sayad Kasim, Nauroz Khan, and Gujar Khan. Daulat Khan Ghori appears to have been on the left of the allied forces. The battle started with the flight from the field of Loma Khuman and his horsemen, and a furious cannonade on both sides. The Nawanagar troops then drove back the left wing of the Moghal army, and victory appeared to be within their grasp. But Sayad Kasim succeeded in driving back the Junagadh contingent under Daulat Khan Ghori, and Gujar Khan, coming to the assistance of the hard-pressed left wing, the Nawanagar forces were driven back in confusion. Soon afterwards Jam Satarsal's son, Ajoji, and Jasa Ladak were killed, and the disheartened Jadejas, being now without leaders, gave way and were soon routed. Daulat Khan Ghori, who was severely wounded, and Muzafar Shah were joined by Jam Satarsal and fled to Junagadh. Both sides lost very heavily, and the whole of the defeated army's baggage fell into the hands of the victors.

The Viceroy now advanced on Nawanagar, which he plundered, and detached Nauroz Khan, Sayad Kasim, and Gujar Khan to besiege Junagadh. On hearing of the intended attack on this stronghold, Jam Satarsal and Muzafar Shah fled to the Barda Hills, where they hid themselves. On the same day on which the Moghal army arrived before Junagadh, Daulat Khan died of his wounds. In spite of this loss, the defenders fought desperately, and after a protracted siege the investing army was obliged to draw off without having accomplished its purpose, and to return to Ahmadabad. Before raising the siege it was joined by the Viceroy and the forces with him, and the want of food supplies told so heavily on the united forces that danger of starvation compelled them to raise the siege sooner than would otherwise have been necessary. Nawanagar now came

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under the Moghal Empire, and a Governor was left in the town.

Eight months after returning to Ahmadabad, the Viceroy again advanced to attack Junagadh. Jam Satarsal was still in hiding in the Barda Hills, and at once sent messengers to the Viceroy to inform him that he was ready to do anything that might be required of him provided Nawanagar were restored to him. Profiting by his former experience, the Viceroy agreed to give back the Jadeja his possessions on condition that he supplied the Moghal forces with grain so long as they remained in the peninsula. To this the Jam agreed, and was reinstated at Nawanagar, while the Viceroy prosecuted the siege of Junagadh with such vigour that it fell after resisting for three months. An Imperial Fouzdar (army commander) was now placed at Junagadh, who administered the province of Sorath for the Emperor of Delhi, in subordination to the Viceroy of Gujarat. Nauroz Khan became the first Fouzdar, and after him Sayad Kasim, each of which generals had taken a prominent part in subduing the province.

After the fall of Junagadh, news reached the Viceroy that Muzafar Shah had taken refuge at Jagat (Dwarka), where Sewa Wadhel, Raja of Jagat, was succouring him. An army was accordingly sent to capture him under the command of Nauroz Khan, and after a forced march he came up with the fugitive, who, however, escaped on horseback, and with a few followers contrived to cross the Rann to Kachh. Sewa Wadhel was killed while gallantly covering his retreat. The Moghal forces now marched to Morvi, intending to embark to Kachh and attack the Rao. The Rao, however, taking a lesson from the examples of Nawanagar and Junagadh, decided to surrender Muzafar Shah rather than fight, and sent a message to the effect that he would show where the fugitive was in hiding if he were guaranteed against

DEATH OF MUZAFAR SHAH

attack, and were given back Morvi, which district had formerly belonged to him. The Viceroy acquiesced in these terms, and Muzafar Shah was captured and sent back across the Rann in custody of a guard of Moghal troops which had been sent to secure him. The Viceroy, however, was yet destined to be cheated of his quarry, for while on the journey, after reaching Dhrol, Muzafar Shah obtained possession of a razor and cut his throat. His head was sent to Delhi for the Emperor to see, and the Viceroy journeyed to Verawal, where he took ship with the object of performing a pilgrimage to Mecca.

With Muzafar Shah's death in A.D. 1592 another short period of peace ensued in Saurashtra, and the opportunity was taken of effecting some reforms. One of these which came as a great boon to the cultivating classes was to the effect that of all produce, the State should take half, and half should be left to the cultivator. Five per cent. as dues was to be deducted from each share equally, and no other taxes of any kind were to be levied. It can be easily imagined that after so much turmoil and fighting throughout the peninsula, reforms such as the above must have come as a godsend to the classes which perforce had suffered most severely in quarrels which did not at all concern them, and of the causes of which in all probability they knew nothing.

The great Emperor Akbar died in A.D. 1605, and after he had been buried at the Sikandra Bagh, near Agra, with great simplicity, his son Jehangir ascended the throne of Delhi. He came no nearer to Saurashtra than Ahmadabad, which place he visited in A.D. 1616, and so thoroughly disliked it that he never again went to that part of his dependencies.

In A.D. 1608 Chandrasinhji Jhala, who had inherited Jhalawad from his father Raisinhji, on the latter's death in A.D. 1584 became the object of the first of a series of attacks made upon him by Jam Jasaji of Nawanagar.

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It happened that Jam Jasaji had married Chandrasinhji's sister, the Rani Jhali, and both she and her husband were very fond of playing chess. One day, while thus engaged, Jam Jasaji captured his wife's "Knight"—called in Gujarati "Horse"—at which she lost her temper, and said : " It is no great thing to take a horse from me, a woman, but if you can take a horse from my brother, you are indeed a Raja." Jam Jasaji accepted the challenge thus thrown out by his Jhala wife and attacked Halwad. Accounts as to what happened afterwards differ somewhat. In one Jam Jasaji is said to have failed in all his attacks upon her brother, and to have been obliged to resort to less heroic methods to effect his capture, eventually seizing him through the instrumentality of a Nagar Brahman named Shankardas. Another account relates that Jam Jasaji sent men to Halwad, outwardly to condole with Chandrasinhji on the loss of a son, but with instructions to capture and bring him to Nawanagar, which was effected and the Jhala was afterwards released only on the intercession of Shankardas. Whichever account be true, it is certain that after a good deal of fighting Chandrasinhji was captured and taken to Nawanagar, and was afterwards released. The incident ended tragically, however, for Jam Jasaji taunted his wife about her brother, and she managed some years afterwards to poison her husband out of revenge.

Chandrasinhji Jhala's troubles were not yet over, however, for he was cursed with a number of quarrelsome and rebellious sons. The eldest was named Prathiraj, against whom the second and third sons, Askaranji and Amarsinhji, plotted with the object of supplanting him. They preferred a concocted story to the Viceroy at Ahmadabad, with the result that Prathiraj was taken there as a prisoner and there died. Askaranji afterwards, in A.D. 1628, succeeded his father, but six

LOMA KHUMAN RAIDS GOHELWAD

years later his brother Amarsinhji killed him and ruled in his stead. Meanwhile Sultanji Jhala and Rajoji Jhala, sons of Prathiraj, sought refuge at a place called Bhadli, and later Sultanji obtained aid from Jam Jasaji of Nawanagar and conquered the country now forming Wankaner State. He fought continually against Halwad until slain in a fight at Mathak. But his descendants retained Wankaner. The district of Wadhwan had been considered since the arrival of the Jhalas in Saurashtra to be the portion of the heir to Halwad. But Rajoji seized it, and eventually it became a distinct State. Chandrasinhji's fourth son, Abhyesinhji, was given Lakhtar, and another Abhyesinhji, grandson of Rajoji Jhala, occupied and retained Chuda.

In A.D. 1616, when the Emperor Jehangir visited Gujarat, Jam Jasaji of Nawanagar went to meet him and pay homage, taking with him fifty horses as "Nazara." At this time were fixed the forces to be contributed by vassal States for the defence of the Moghal Empire, and Jam Jasaji's quota was laid down as being two thousand five hundred horsemen. These men were posted on the Southern borders of Gujarat.

About this time the Kathis began raiding on a larger scale than they had before attempted, and directed their attacks principally against the Gohels. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Visoji Gohel had captured Sihor from Kandhoji Gohel, a petty chief of Gariadhar and ancestor of the Palitana family. The fine natural position of this place from a strategic point of view at once became apparent to Visoji, and fortifying it strongly he made it his capital. He was succeeded by his son Dhunoji in A.D. 1600, and during Dhunoji's reign, Noghanji, son of the dispossessed Kandhoji of Gariadhar, was attacked by Loma Khuman of Kherdi, the Kathi chief who had deserted Jam Satarsal at the battle of Buchar Mori in A.D. 1591, and by him driven

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out of his territory. Noghanji asked Dhunoji Gohel of Sihor for help, but before he could collect his forces, he in turn was attacked suddenly by Loma Khuman in A.D. 1619 and killed in a battle near Velawadar, in Gohelwad. Noghanji therefore remained dispossessed.

After Saurashtra had been placed under an Imperial Fouzdar subordinate to the Viceroy of Gujarat in A.D. 1592, it is strange to find that with the exception of the first and second Fouzdars, men of no administrative ability held the post. Under the weak control of these men, the peninsula quickly drifted once more into a condition of grave disorder. With no powerful hand to restrain them, the various chiefs sought to avenge private wrongs—real and imaginary—or to add to their territories at the expense of some less powerful opponent. Whether fighting with one another, or among themselves within their own boundaries, the result was the same for the unfortunate cultivators who formed the bulk of the population. Heavy exactions were necessary to carry on fighting ; but even this ill, great as it must have been, was less harmful than that occasioned those who happened to till their fields either near the scene of a battle, or near the route by which an army happened to be marching. And again the man who could bestow the handsomest and richest gifts on the Emperor Shah Jehan had the best chance of procuring the appoint of Viceroy of a province of the Empire. Naturally it followed that when a man had been so appointed he endeavoured to make his term of office as profitable as possible so as to recompense himself. This was an easy matter in days when there were no means of communication other than by road—and Saurashtra is a very far cry from Delhi !

Eventually matters became too serious to be ignored, and it became necessary to send a strong and capable Viceroy to Gujarat if that province and Saurashtra were

THE DERIVATION OF “KORI”

to be retained in the Delhi Empire. Accordingly, in A.D. 1635, Azam Khan, a man of real ability, was sent to Ahmadabad as Viceroy with directions to restore order; while Mirza Isa Tar Khan was made Fouzdar of Sorath at Junagadh.

The first to rebel against the newly introduced strong hand was Jam Lakhaji of Nawanagar, who succeeded his uncle, Jam Jasaji, in A.D. 1624. Then followed risings of Kathis and Kolis. These were subdued without much difficulty, but the Jam took no profit from their and previous examples, and still withheld payment of tribute. Azam Khan at once marched on Nawanagar and forced Jam Lakhaji to yield. The full amount of tribute due he was compelled to pay and, in addition, to surrender refugees and outlaws from Gujarat and to promise for the future never to harbour such people. Also he promised to cease coining money. This privilege had been accorded the Jadejas by Sultan Muzafer Khan of Gujarat, who had granted it to Jam Satarsal, stipulating only that the coinage should be called “Mahmudi,” after his own father. The story goes that on one occasion Jam Satarsal was paying Nazarana to the Sultan, and produced a rupee and a coin which afterwards became known as “Kori.” By way of compliment he said: “Just as the dignity of Rajas is increased by the gift of their daughters to the Sultan their overlord, so I marry my coin as a ‘Kunwari’ to this rupee of yours, hoping her honour will increase.” This so pleased the Sultan that he gave permission to open a mint, and directed that the small coin which the Jam had presented with the rupee should be known as “Kunwari,” which afterwards became contracted to “Kori.”

Having completed the subjugation of the Jam, Azam Khan, in A.D. 1640, returned to Ahmadabad. The centre of interest in Sorath now changed from Nawanagar to Gohelwad, at the opposite corner of the province. In

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A.D. 1622 Govindji Gohel, uncle of the heir to the *gadi*, had usurped it on the death of his brother Harbhamji. The infant Akherajji, the rightful heir, was taken by his mother to Kachh, in which country he grew to manhood. Certain supporters of their lawful ruler endeavoured to oust Govindji, who, to strengthen himself and his cause, sought aid from Mirza Isa Tar Khan, Fouzdar of Sorath. As consideration for this aid, in A.D. 1636 the Fouzdar was given all Govindji's rights in the valuable port of Gogha, in Gohelwad. Shortly afterwards, however, Govindji Gohel died, and his son Satarsalji was nominated to succeed him. Akherajji's supporters now redoubled their efforts to secure Gohelwad for the lawful ruler, and succeeded in surprising Satarsalji while asleep, and in carrying him off. They now induced a Kathi chieftain, Samat Khuman, to espouse their cause, and with his help in A.D. 1636 Akherajji succeeded to the position he should have occupied fourteen years earlier. Shortly afterwards Noghanji, who had been driven out of his property at Gariadhar in A.D. 1619 and had not yet succeeded in reinstating himself, asked Akherajji for aid in recovering his possessions. This being given, a surprise attack was made on the Kathis, who were driven out, and Noghanji came into his own again. Before Akherajji Gohel died in A.D. 1660 he obtained from the Moghal Government the "Chouth," or fourth part of the revenue of the port of Gogha, which his uncle had alienated.

Affairs in Jhalawad now claimed attention. On Chandrasinhji Jhala's death in A.D. 1628 his second son, Askaranji (who, it will be remembered, with his brother Amarsinhji had succeeded in effecting the removal to Ahmadabad of Prathirajji, eldest son and heir of Chandrasinhji), succeeded him. But six years later he was assassinated by his brother and former co-conspirator, Amarsinhji, who took his place. But Amarsinhji was not permitted to rule in peace. Prathirajji's son, Sultanji

RAIDING IN JHALAWAD

Jhala of Wankaner, made continued raids on Halwad territory. After some time Amarsinhji allied himself to the Kathis, and the Parmar Rajput chief of Muli, who carried the warfare into Wankaner territory, and on one occasion carried off a number of cattle. Sultanji, however, pursued them as they were retiring, but, being reinforced by some of Amarsinhji's troops, they turned round and made a stand. As a result Sultanji was killed, and the battle was commemorated by the erection of a temple on the site. After Sultanji's death, Amarsinhji ruled in peace until he died in A.D. 1645.

In past times one of the most fruitful sources of troubles in the dominions of the many semi-independent rulers in Saurashtra and elsewhere was the introduction of spurious male children into a chief's family, if he happened to be without male offspring and without probability of being blessed with any. Such a course sometimes appeared necessary, either to assure succession of the line or to guard against the succession of a collateral. In the latter case two motives usually prompted such measures. Firstly, a Rani after her husband's death (unless she burnt herself on his funeral pyre) knew she would be supplanted in her position and would become a very unimportant personage; while secondly, those retainers and dependents of a childless chief stood a great chance of losing their posts should a collateral succeed, in which case he would almost certainly surround himself with his own friends and servants. One, or perhaps both, of these motives was responsible for the introduction of a spurious male child into the family of Jam Ranmalji of Nawanagar before he died in A.D. 1661. The Jam had married a lady of the Jodhpur family, and the union had not resulted in any offspring. Consequently, with the aid of a servant named Malik Isa and her brother, Govardhan Rathod, she managed to procure from outside a newly born male child, which

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she gave out as her own, and named Satoji. However, Jadeja Raisinhji, brother of Jam Ranmalji, came to hear of the fraud perpetrated at his expense, and managed to induce his brother to declare to the leading men of the State that the child was spurious and that he wished Raisinhji to succeed him. In A.D. 1661, on the death of Jam Ranmalji, the Jodhpur lady and her brother proclaimed the infant Satoji to be his successor, and a durbar was arranged by her, to which only women were invited. Raisinhji, however, managed to dress some of his party up as women, and so to gain admittance for them to the durbar. These fell upon all the male supporters of the Rani and massacred them. Govardhan Rathod and his sister were driven away, and Raisinhji was proclaimed Jam. The Viceroy of Gujarat at this time was Jaswantsinhji of Jodhpur, but he happened to be away and Kutab-ud-din, Fouzdar of Sorath, was acting for him. The Rani went to Ahmadabad and besought him to assist her, declaring Satoji was the legitimate heir, and Kutab-ud-din assembled an army and at once marched on Nawanagar. Raisinhji came out to meet him, and the two armies met at Shekhpat, where a battle was fought, and Raisinhji was slain. Kutab-ud-din captured Nawanagar, and renaming the city "Islamnagar" added it and the whole of Halawad to the crown dominions. Shortly afterwards, Kutab-ud-din was sent with an army to aid Jaswantsinhji of Jodhpur in the Deccan, and Sardar Khan was appointed Fouzdar of Sorath and in charge of Islamnagar, an additional force of five hundred horsemen being placed under him.

With the exception of the plundering of Diu by Arab invaders in A.D. 1670, affairs in Saurashtra during the remainder of the seventeenth century were not of very great moment. Peace was fairly generally established, and a certain amount of time was devoted towards

JADEJA TAMACHI AT NAWANAGAR

making revenue assessments and fixing rules for dues and taxes. One of these, which was most unpopular, was the confiscation by an Imperial order of all land held by Hindus on religious tenure. In another case Mahomedans were especially favoured. They were excused payment of transit dues and taxes on grass, fire-wood, and vegetables, among certain others. This creation of an invidious distinction between ruling and subordinate races must have produced a very bad effect. Also the fining of Musalman officials or landholders was forbidden as contrary to Mahomedan law. Imprisonment, however, for misdemeanour was retained.

On the annexation of Nawanagar to the Imperial dominions in A.D. 1664, Jadeja Tamachi, son of Jam Raisinhji, had escaped to Kachh. Subsequently he began a series of raids against Musalman authority, and became a thorn in the flesh of the Mahomedan Governor of Nawanagar. Finally he approached Jaswantsinhji of Jodhpur (who had been made Viceroy of Gujarat for the second time in A.D. 1671) for the restoration to him of his ancestral dominions, and on the Viceroy's intercession before the Emperor Aurangzeb the latter seated him on the Nawanagar *gadi* on condition that he kept order within the boundaries of his territory, and served the Viceroy whenever called upon. But until the Emperor Aurangzeb died in A.D. 1707 a Mahomedan Fouzdar was kept in Nawanagar city, and the Jam was obliged to live at Khambhalia, some thirty miles away.

In A.D. 1673 Jaswantsinhji Jhala succeeded to Halwad. It happened that his sister had married Ajitsinhji Rathod of Jodhpur, son of Chandrasinhji, Viceroy of Gujarat. This lady, on the death of her father in A.D. 1673, besought her father-in-law, the Viceroy, to take an army against Halwad, which he did, being successful and expelling Jaswantsinhji Jhala from his dominions. Halwad was now re-named Mahomednagar, and given to a Musalman,

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Nazar Ali Khan Babi, as a "Jagir," by whom it was held for six years. In A.D. 1679 Chandrasinhji Jhala of Wankaner drove out the Mahomedan, to be expelled himself in turn by Jaswantsinhji three years later. Jaswantsinhji then appealed to the Emperor Aurangzeb, who acknowledged the justice of his case, and confirmed him in the possession of his property.

In A.D. 1684 Abdur Rahman Krori, the Mahomedan Governor of Diu Island, made himself particularly unpopular with the people, at whose unanimous request he was removed. Sardar Khan, Fouzdar of Sorath, appointed one Mahomed Sayad to be his successor, and shortly afterwards was transferred to Sind as Viceroy, being followed in Saurashtra by Sayad Mahomed Shah. The new Fouzdar, however, did not remain long, for shortly afterwards the province was assigned to Mahomed Azam Shah Bahadur, a cadet of the Imperial family, as his personal estate, and Shahrwadi Khan was appointed Governor on his behalf.

Meanwhile the Kathis had merited punishment by plundering both in Saurashtra and in Gujarat. Their raids were fast becoming too daring to tolerate, and in A.D. 1692 it was decided that a force from Ahmadabad should be sent against them. Shujat Khan, the Viceroy, led the army in person, and advancing into Saurashtra he attacked and plundered Than, which the Kathis had fortified strongly. The fort was razed to the ground, and the army returned to Ahmadabad without molestation.

CHAPTER X

(A.D. 1692–1760)

THE history of Saurashtra during the eighteenth century may be said to be that of the most critical of the many transition stages in the eventful history of the province. The powerful Mahomedan rule began to decline before the marauding raids of the Marathas, and the surface of the fair peninsula of Western India became stained with the blood of many fights—the result of aggression from without, and of internal trouble within its borders. We have seen how it had become filled with warring elements ; how the numerous tribes composing its population made not for harmony but for discord ; how in spite of all the drawbacks of continued warfare it still throve ; and, finally, how desirable a land it must have appeared to those wild and brave hosts of the parched Deccan, who were to seek from it the wealth which their own country denied them.

The century was ushered in by a furious attack in A.D. 1705 on the Southern border of Gujarat by a Maratha army of fifteen thousand men, which burst through the defending cordon like a whirlwind and devastated the country. Two successive Mahomedan armies were completely defeated, and after taking what they could collect in the shape of loot and ransom-money, the victorious Marathas retired to their own country. In A.D. 1711, however, they were defeated at Ankleshwar in a similar raiding expedition, and on that occasion, when the Fouzdar of Sorath, Sayad Ahmad Gilani, was called upon for aid,

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the assistance brought by him went far towards ensuring victory. Three years later Sayad Ahmad was superseded, his appointment being given to Abhesinhji, son of Ajitsinhji of Marwar, who had given his daughter in marriage to the Emperor Farukhsiyar. Abhesinhji did not come to Sorath, but deputed Kayat Fatehsinhji to perform the duties of his office on his behalf. This arrangement was not allowed to stand for long, however, and Abhesinhji was in the same year removed from the post in favour of Abdul Hamid Khan. In A.D. 1714 Daud Khan was made Viceroy of Gujarat, Abdul Hamid Khan acting for him. Shortly after his arrival at Ahmadabad, Daud Khan took his army into Saurashtra, levying the accustomed tribute without opposition and marrying also, when at Halwad, a daughter of Jaswantsinhji Jhala. But his Viceroyalty did not prove successful, and in the following year he was superseded by Maharaja Ajitsinhji of Marwar. The new Viceroy deputed Kayat Fatehsinhji to Sorath, but shortly afterwards an Imperial order was received conferring the province on Haider Kuli Khan, who in his turn appointed Roza Kuli to be his deputy at Junagadh, the headquarters of the charge. The Viceroy, however, marched into Saurashtra to collect revenue from certain recalcitrant debtors. He first proceeded against Halwad and compelled Jaswantsinhji Jhala to come to terms, afterwards marching on Nawanagar. Jam Raisinhji opposed him and some fighting ensued, the matter being complicated for the Viceroy by the fact that the Jhala chief came to the assistance of the Jam and continually harassed the flanks and rear of the Imperial army. But finally the Jam was compelled to pay a present of twenty-five horses and a sum of three lakhs of rupees as tribute. After visiting Dwarka the Viceroy returned to Ahmadabad, and Saurashtra was left in peace for a short time.

It was about this time that the Jethwas in the South-West of the peninsula began to regain something of their

THE JETHWAS AT PORBANDAR

old importance. Since the sixteenth century they had been settled at Chhaya, which stands on a creek not far from Porbandar. They had sunk to a very low ebb on account of their being unable to resist the Jadejas, who had despoiled them of most of their territories and had continually oppressed them. Close by was situated Porbandar, a Mahomedan port of fair prosperity, towards which the Ranas of Chhaya had long cast longing eyes. It is mentioned in the Puranas as the ancient city of Sudama Puri, where we are told that Krishna changed the place from a small village into a city of gold on behalf of his old companion Sudama. Whatever be its origin, Sudama Puri was a holy and ancient place, which in course of time became known as Puri. To this was afterwards added the suffix "bandar," signifying it was a harbour, and the word Porbandar became thus formed.

It was during the reign of Rana Sultanji, between A.D. 1671 and 1699, that a small Jethwa fort was unpretentiously built in Porbandar, and in subsequent years the happenings in more important parts of the Gujarat dominions left the Moghal authorities little time for determining every petty encroachment, or indeed for noticing it. Accordingly the Ranas found nothing to hinder them in establishing authority at Porbandar and in towns around it, and in about A.D. 1718 Rana Khimoji claimed Porbandar as his own, continuing, however, to live in his strong fortress at Chhaya.

In A.D. 1722 the Marathas, under Kantaji Kadam Bande and Pilaji Gaekwad, made their first foray into Saurashtra. Unfortunately for themselves, they selected the strong fort of Sihor for attack, and though they made determined onslaughts, they were every time driven back, and finally desisted. The Gohels suffered much loss, and but for the bravery and determination of their chief, Bhavsinhji, they would doubtless have succumbed to the attacks of their hardy adversaries. It is Bhavsinhji who

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raised the Gohels to a position of importance in Saurashtra. Born in A.D. 1683, at the age of twenty he succeeded his father, Ratanji, at Sihor, and from the first determined that he would make himself a powerful chief in the confusion consequent on the decline of the Moghal authority. His defeat of the Marathas gave him his opportunity, for he was so impressed by the dangerous position of Sihor in the event of defeat that he determined to found a capital at some place from which he could escape if necessary. So he chose the village of Wadwa, and there in A.D. 1723 he built the town of Bhavnagar. By having a capital on the sea he not only made for himself a safe means of retreat, but he was also able to make it a means of wealth by attracting some of the trade before monopolized by Gogha, Surat, and Cambay. Bhavnagar quickly gained in importance, and Bhavsinhji was soon obliged to spend a good deal of time trying to keep the place from attracting notice until he should be sufficiently strong to hold it in case of attack.

In A.D. 1718 Jam Raisinhji of Nawanagar had been murdered by his brother Hardholji, who usurped the dominions of the rightful heir, Jadeja Tamachi, the infant son of Raisinhji. A slave-girl concealed the child in a box and fled to Kachh, where she besought the boy's aunt, Bai Ratnaji, to aid him to recover his lawful possessions. The Bai took up her nephew's case and wrote to her brother, Pratapsinhji Jhala of Halwad, asking him to marry his daughter to the Viceroy of Gujarat, Sarbuland Khan Umbariz-ul-Mulk, and the daughter of one of his cousins to Salabat Mahomed Khan Babi, Commander of the Moghal forces in Gujarat. Pratapsinhji fell in with his sister's views in A.D. 1726, and the result of these matrimonial alliances was that in A.D. 1727 Jam Hardholji was driven away from Nawanagar, and the rightful ruler, Jam Tamachi, was seated on the *gadi*. In return for the assistance rendered, three villages, Charak-

JHALA RAISINHJI AT DHRANGADHRA

hadi, Trahuda, and Daiya, were given to Salabat Mahomed Khan Babi, whose sons subsequently sold them to Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal. Other villages were given to Halwad, and the Mahals of Balambha and Amran were mortgaged to Rao Desalji of Kachh, who subsequently, in A.D. 1736, built the fort at the first-named place.

After the Viceroy had settled Jam Tamachi in enjoyment of his property he marched to Chhaya to collect tribute from Rana Khimoji. The chief, however, sought to avoid payment by putting to sea, and he was also apprehensive as to what might be done to him for having bribed the Desais (Moghal revenue officials) of Mangrol to surrender Madhavpur to him the previous year. Eventually, however, he was obliged to return and pay his tribute, on hearing the Viceroy proposed to annex his territory and to appoint an administering officer over it. But nothing appears to have been said about Madhavpur, which continued in his possession and still forms part of the Porbandar State.

In A.D. 1730 Raisinhji Jhala succeeded his father, Pratapsinhji, at Halwad, and in the same year built the fort of Dhrangadhra, which, though used at first for part of the year only, soon supplanted Halwad and became the capital of Jhalawad. Raisinhji was quick to see the danger of apportioning out land to younger sons and others, and decided to put an end to such alienation of a considerable amount of the dominions from the possessions of the main branch of the family. In this he met with much opposition from his younger sons, and soon found that the eldest son, Gajsinhji, while professing to help his father, was actually siding with his brothers against him. This annoyed Raisinhji so much that he immediately sent for the younger sons, who had gone into outlawry against him, and gave each of them a substantial portion of the State from which to draw revenue.

It is about this time that the Mahomedan Babi family

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first began to assume importance in Saurashtra. Members of it had already made names for themselves in Gujarat, where they had acquired the reputation of being good and fierce soldiers and capable administrators. The first mention of the family occurs in A.D. 1664, when Sher Khan Babi was sent with an army against the Koli rebels of the Chunval district, near Viramgam. Sher Khan's father, Bahadur Khan, an Afghan, rose to some distinction under the Emperor Shah Jehan, and members of the family were afterwards marked out for favour and advancement. Sher Khan had four sons, from the third of whom, Jafar Khan (also known as Safdar Khan), sprung the rulers of Radhanpur, Junagadh, and Wadasinor (Balasinor). From the fourth son, Shahbaz Khan, descended the family of the Ranpur house, now under Junagadh.

On the Marathas entering Gujarat in A.D. 1705, Jafar Khan had been sent with the Moghal army operating against them. But he had been captured, two of his sons sharing the same fate, though afterwards cutting their way back. Jafar Khan was eventually ransomed, and was afterwards appointed Governor of Godhra. He died in A.D. 1725, at a time when his son, Salabat Mahomed Khan, was beginning to eclipse his father's fame. Salabat Mahomed Khan attained much influence in Saurashtra through his having been made the owner of the port of Gogha by the Moghal Emperor, and his advice and help were frequently sought in questions arising between the chiefs of the province and the Viceroys when on tribute-collecting expeditions. He was also Commander of the Gujarat army, and we have already seen how by his influence Jam Tamachi was reinstated at Nawanagan in A.D. 1727, and how he had been given a lady of the Jhala family in marriage.

In A.D. 1728, while holding an important command at Viramgam, he was made Fouzdar of Sorath, at Junagadh. But the Marathas were then becoming so troublesome

MARATHAS ENTER SAURASHTRA

that he preferred not to go to his new headquarters and was allowed to send his son, Sher Khan, as deputy for him. On Salabat Mahomed Khan's death in A.D. 1730 Sher Khan was removed from Junagadh, and retired for a time to Gogha. At this juncture a certain Sohrab Khan was Governor of Surat, and Bhavsinhji Gohel of Bhavnagar, seeing in him a means of advancing the interests of Bhavnagar as against those of Gogha, made friends with him. To such an extent did he make use of Sohrab Khan's influence that he eventually succeeded in procuring the removal of Gogha from the Babis, who were granted in its place a *jagir* at Bantwa, not far from Junagadh. Unfortunately for Bhavsinhji, Sohrab Khan himself managed to obtain Gogha, but by his death a year or two afterwards, in A.D. 1735, Bhavsinhji's ambition became fulfilled, and Bhavnagar ceased to suffer from Gogha's rivalry. Bhavsinhji now reached the zenith of his power and reputation. He had succeeded in a few years in changing the petty chieftancy of the Gohels into one of much greater importance, and by his natural caution and long-sighted policy had succeeded in making himself the most influential chief in the peninsula. His reputation had been greatly enhanced by his defeat of the Marathas, who had succeeded, however, in imposing a regular tribute on the whole of Gujarat. The chiefs of Saurashtra shared in paying this levy, and the first entry of a Maratha tribute-collecting army into the peninsula took place under Damaji Gaekwad in A.D. 1735, to be followed less than two years after by another similar incursion.

In A.D. 1738 Momin Khan, then Viceroy in Gujarat, restored to Sher Khan Babi his ancestral possession of Gogha, and shortly afterwards made him deputy-Governor of Sorath on behalf of Himat Ali Khan, nephew of Momin Khan, who had been appointed to the Governorship by the Emperor at Delhi. At Sher Khan's appointment a

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certain amount of ill-feeling and jealousy arose against him. But he had before shown his capacity in dealing with the Marathas, and so was permitted to remain at Junagadh, in spite of the vigorous attempts made to supplant him. The choice, however, was fully justified, for in very troublous times the affairs of Sorath were managed with great skill and judgment, and Sher Khan became even friendly with the Maratha spoilers. During this time he had no opportunity for directing affairs at Gogha, and Bhavsinhji was enabled to consolidate his power and to encroach on Gogha territory without hindrance. In A.D. 1739 he entered into an agreement with the Abyssinian Commander at Surat whereby he undertook to pay the Abyssinian $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the sea customs revenue of Bhavnagar port, and also to remit certain port and customs dues from Surat traders in return for protection by sea. Both parties to the agreement further undertook to do their utmost to put down the piracy which existed in an aggravated form all round the coast of Saurashtra.

Momin Khan, Viceroy of Gujarat, made one of his periodic incursions into Sorath in A.D. 1742 to collect tribute. At Gogha, where he first went, he met with no resistance, but Jam Tamachi of Nawanagar, as usual with the Jadejas, refused to pay. For twenty days he defied the Viceroy's army, but was then obliged to surrender, and agreed to pay half a lakh of rupees. Jam Tamachi only survived a short time after Momin Khan's departure, for in A.D. 1743 he was murdered by Karansinhji Jhala of Wadhwani at the instigation of Jadeja Halaji of Pardhari, who had helped Jam Tamachi to regain Nawanagar sixteen years before. Halaji, who was a noted assassin, had become displeased with Jam Tamachi because he had been sent to his village, and had determined to revenge what he imagined to be his overlord's ingratitude.

SHER KHAN SEIZES JUNAGADH

Jam Tamachi had no son to succeed him, and on his death his daughter dressed up his body and showed it to the people from a lofty window in the palace at Nawanganagar. The principal relations, seeing their ruler, as they thought, alive, started off in pursuit of Karansinhji Jhala, whom they imagined had but attempted to murder their chief. As soon as they were gone, Tamachi's daughter advised each of his wives to adopt a son secretly and to pretend they were legitimate heirs. The ruse was successful, and two boys were introduced into the palace—the elder, Lakhaji, being nominated his "father's" successor.

In A.D. 1745 Sheshabhai Jhala, second son of Raisinhji Jhala of Halwad and Dhrangadhra, conquered Sayla from the Khawad Kathis. Seizing also other villages round, he established himself at Sayla as a chief independent of Halwad, and the present Sayla State was thus founded.

Meanwhile Sher Khan Babi had got himself seriously compromised through taking part in the many internal quarrels of Gujarat. He had left affairs in Junagadh to be carried on for him by two of his wives, and these ladies did nothing to forfeit the trust he placed in them. Consequently, when in A.D. 1748 he found matters in Gujarat had become extremely difficult for him, and that he was in danger of defeat by two powerful enemies, he placed his son, Sardar Mahomed, in charge of the family property at Wadasinor (Balasinor) and himself retired to Junagadh. Knowing the state of affairs in Gujarat and that no serious attempt could be made by the Moghals to oust him, he set himself up independently at Junagadh as Nawab, and assumed the title of Bahadur Khan. But for several years he was unable to do more than enforce his authority in the immediate vicinity of Junagadh. In the same year the Marathas under Kanoji Takpar, a Maratha general, joined Fakhr-ud-dowlah, Viceroy of Gujarat, in an expedition into Sorath to collect tribute. The Maratha forces

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attacked and took Wanthali, but were obliged to return to the Deccan after doing so, although being desirous of effecting the capture of Junagadh also.

Among other places, the Marathas left a representative at Mangrol in the person of Jadav Jaswant. This man, however, so oppressed the Musalmans of the place that under Sheikh Mian, son of **Kazi Fakhr-ud-din**, they rose against him. Sheikh Mian then took the government into his own hands and levied taxes as an independent chief. Nineteen years later, in A.D. 1767, Sheikh Mian agreed to become a vassal of Junagadh, since which time the State has been subordinate to its more powerful neighbour. In A.D. 1749 Kutiana also was temporarily lost to the Mahomedans. Rana Vikmatji of Chhaya captured the place in that year and added it to the Jethwa possessions. The same year Sher Khan Babi left Junagadh to go to Gujarat in order to find out whether he could realize even greater ambitions than that of becoming an independent Nawab of Junagadh. But he came near to losing what he had already obtained, for during his absence a Purbia, by name Wasant Rai, obtained possession of Junagadh. He was expelled, however, by Dewan Dalpatram, who was acting for Sher Khan, but immediately obtained assistance from a Khant named Mansia, when the two attacked and seized the Uparkot. Using the fort as their base, they succeeded in plundering the entire surrounding country, and it was not for over a year that they were finally forced out of their stronghold.

Scarcely had Wasant Rai and Mansia been ejected, when the Arabs in Junagadh revolted on account of their pay being in arrears, and seized the Uparkot in their turn. Sher Khan was now sent word as to what was happening at his capital, and he returned without delay and laid siege to the fort. But he was unable to evict his erstwhile attendants, and did not procure their surrender until he had handed over to them a large sum

MARATHAS IN GUJARAT

of money, obtained by selling Dhoraji to Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal in A.D. 1754. For the remaining four years of Sher Khan Babi's life peace existed in Junagadh. He did not again leave his newly acquired possessions, and he ceased to take an interest in the disturbing affairs taking place in Gujarat during the time the Marathas were making their supremacy there firmly established.

The Marathas in A.D. 1753 captured Ahmadabad, and though Momin Khan remained in Gujarat as Viceroy for the Moghal Emperor, his position was really only nominal. The Marathas practically occupied the country, and the Peshwa of Poona divided the tribute with the Gaekwad of Baroda. Indeed at Ahmadabad coins ceased to be struck in the name of the Emperor. The chiefs of Saurashtra withheld tribute, and the Moghals were unable to enforce any demands. Saurashtra soon ceased to acknowledge any authority from Delhi, and the peninsula became overrun by Maratha armies, annually collecting the *chouth*, or fourth part of the revenue, which they declared to be their due.

Shortly after Sheshabhai Jhala had established himself firmly at Sayla he succeeded in getting his elder brother, Gajsinhji of Halwad, completely under his influence, and finally made an attempt to usurp his dominions, and become himself the head of the Jhalas. He obtained possession of Dhrangadhra, and was not evicted until much hard fighting had occurred in efforts by Gajsinhji to retake the town. On his quitting Dhrangadhra, Bai Jijiba, wife of Gajsinhji, installed herself there and ruled for her husband, he remaining at Halwad. Each paid half of the tribute due to the Marathas, and this unusual arrangement worked entirely satisfactorily.

On October 17, 1756, the nominal Viceroy for the Emperor Alamgir II in Gujarat, Momin Khan, reassembled an army and drove the Marathas out of Ahmadabad. But this success was temporary only, for in less than two

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years the city again fell to the Marathas and Moghal authority departed entirely from Gujarat. The Peshwa now appointed a Viceroy of Gujarat in the person of Sadashiv Ramchandra, who took over the government of the province and caused new coins to be struck at the mint in Ahmadabad. Scarcely had he set up the new Government, however, when he went into Saurashtra to collect money. Gogha now became the property of the Peshwa, and Sadashiv Ramchandra, journeying from Porbandar to Junagadh, desired to place a Maratha Governor at the latter place, but for some reason or other did not carry out his intention. The following year he again entered the peninsula and marched against Dhrangadhra. Gajsinhji Jhala sent an army from Halwad to aid his wife, and while Halwad was thus denuded of troops a Maratha force surprised the town and Gajsinhji was taken prisoner, after a desperate struggle round the palace. He was held captive until payment of a sum of rather over one lakh of rupees purchased his release, which did not take place before several months had elapsed. Other chiefs, taking to heart the lesson so rudely brought home to Gajsinhji, paid their tribute without demur, and after again visiting Junagadh, the Marathas returned to Ahmadabad.

On the death of Sher Khan of Junagadh in A.D. 1758 he was succeeded by his son, Mahabat Khan, who was at first quite unable to cope with the anarchy and intrigue which surrounded him on every side. Scarcely had the new Nawab been proclaimed when his aunt, Bibi Saheba Sultan, sister of the late Nawab Sher Khan, seized him with the help of some Arabs, confined him in the Uparkot, and proclaimed her grandson, Muzafar Khan, to be Nawab. Hearing of the confusion at Junagadh, another member of the Babi family, Jawan Mard Khan of Sami-Munjpur, in Gujarat, considered the opportunity to be a good one for uniting the property of the two branches

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of the family under himself. Consequently he went to Junagadh and occupied the town. Returning to Sami-Munjpur, he left his son to besiege the Uparkot as his deputy. The Uparkot, however, held out, and the usurpers were obliged to raise the siege and march some distance away to watch events. Meanwhile, close by, at Gondal, Jadeja Kumbhoji was establishing himself, and he, fearing a strong man in the person of Jawan Mard Khan as a neighbour, made peaceful overtures with such good effect that the usurper agreed to return to Gujarat and to leave Junagadh alone. Through his influence Mahabat Khan was released, and Bibi Saheba Sultan removed from Junagadh. Muzafar Khan and his brother, Fatehyab Khan, were granted the estate of Ranpur, on condition that they renounced all claims to the chiefship, and for this successful attempt at arbitration Kumbhoji managed to procure Upleta from Junagadh at a low price. But it was some time before the disorder at Junagadh disappeared. Almost as soon as the young Nawab was released, the want of money caused further trouble. The Arab troops, who were much in arrears in spite of having been enriched several times by the spoil obtained from plundering expeditions into the neighbouring country, rebelled and seized the Uparkot, from which they were expelled after some time by the famous Dewan Amarji, then a youth of eighteen, who had come from Mangrol seeking service at Junagadh, and was permitted to try conclusions with the Arabs by way of proving his mettle.

Under the Marathas Saurashtra became known as Kathiawad, and this has since been the official designation of the province. Formerly the term was applied to a tract near the centre of the peninsula occupied by the Kathis, who resisted the Marathas so stoutly when engaged on tribute-collecting expeditions, that they considered them the most important enemies to be reckoned

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with, and extended the name of their part of the peninsula to the whole. The dominion of the Marathas over Kathiawad never took the form of an occupation of the country, and to this day there are probably fewer Marathas to be found in it than any other of the peoples constituting its population. They did not even leave representatives or deputies of any importance to safeguard their interests, but were content to fix a certain tribute as being due from the province, and to send annually an army to collect it. As this army was nearly always resisted in some way, and as the devastations it caused can be better imagined than described, it may be easily understood that Saurashtra did not enjoy either peace or happiness under Maratha domination.

CHAPTER XI

(A.D. 1760–1784)

IN the latter half of the eighteenth century three remarkable men arose in Saurashtra, and its history during those years is almost entirely bound up with their lives. They guided the destinies of the principal States in the peninsula, and as a result of their accomplishments and statesmanship the country became constituted practically as we find it to-day. For many years Saurashtra had failed to produce any man capable of taking any substantial place in its history—though in making this assertion we must except Bhavsinhji Gohel, who founded Bhavnagar. No man had arisen capable of uniting the warring elements of the peninsula, and of making a serious and connected stand against the incursions of the Marathas on the downfall of Moghal authority in Gujarat. Going back further, we see that no man had arisen to confront Sultan Mahomed Begarah, and the Portugese alone at Diu had been able to withstand the attacks of Islam. And so in the same way we see all along its history that Saurashtra has been unable to produce a great man at a critical time. Warriors and fighting men there have been in plenty, of which we have already had ample evidence in foregoing pages. But it was not until the middle part of the eighteenth century that any man came into notice who combined the powers of fighting with those of organization and statecraft. And then three such men arose.

Perhaps the most important of these three was Amarji, Dewan of Junagadh. Born in about A.D. 1742, the son

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of Kunvarji, a Nagar Brahman, his boyhood was passed in Mangrol, and at about the age of eighteen he left his native town and went to Junagadh in an endeavour to get service under the new Nawab, Mahabat Khan. When he arrived at Junagadh he found the place in a state of siege. The Arabs, of which the army was largely composed, had rebelled, and were defying all attempts to drive them from the Uparkot or to pacify them. At this juncture Amarji asked to be allowed to have some appointment, and the Nawab told him that if he could obtain possession of the Wageswari gate of the fort, then held by the Arabs, he would establish for himself a claim to enter his service. Taking him at his word, Amarji went to Porbandar, from which place he obtained the services of an Arab Jamadar named Salmin, who undertook to produce a number of Arab soldiers to recapture the Uparkot for the Nawab. When they reached Junagadh, the Nawab, however, refused them entrance to the town, fearing they would join hands with the rebels in the Uparkot. But he gave leave to attack from outside the walls at the Wageswari gate, which they did with such effect that the gate and the Uparkot fell into Amarji's hands, and he handed over the place to the Nawab, together with the captured Arabs, who had agreed to surrender without further bloodshed on a promise by Amarji of settlement to the extent of half the amount of their previous demands. Amarji obtained much credit for this success, and was immediately given a high place in the Nawab's service, Jamadar Salmin also being given an appointment. In this way Amarji began his remarkably successful career, which was passed altogether in the service of Nawabs Mahabat Khan and Hamed Khan of Junagadh.

Meraman Khawas, the second of the three men referred to, was at first in the service of Halwad, and accompanied Bai Jawuba from that place to Nawanagar on her marriage

THREE IMPORTANT MEN

with Jam Lakhaji. He was a man of great strength of character, who brooked interference from none once he had established an ascendancy over the weak-minded Jam. Eventually Bai Jawuba felt unable any longer to bear her humiliating position, and in A.D. 1756 she organized a movement to overthrow Meraman. Nanji Khawas, Meraman's brother, was killed as a result, but Meraman collected such followers as he could find, stormed the palace, slew or captured the guards, and took Bai Jawuba prisoner. He placed her under a guard and in a secure retreat, and assumed complete charge of the administration of Nawanagar with very little opposition. Jam Lakhaji became a puppet in his hands, and on his death in A.D. 1768 he was succeeded by the elder of his two infant sons, Jam Jasaji. Being entirely unscrupulous, Meraman Khawas, until his death in A.D. 1800, kept the young Jam in close confinement and nipped in the bud any attempt made to place him in charge of the affairs of the State.

The third of the great men of Kathiawad during the second half of the eighteenth century was Wakhatsinhji Gohel of Bhavnagar, who in A.D. 1772 succeeded his father, Akherajji, at the age of twenty-four. From the day he ascended the *gadi* his time was largely spent, until his death in A.D. 1816, in fighting the Kathis and in establishing good relations with the British Government, who were now beginning to make good their footing in Western India. The proximity of Bhavnagar and Gogha to Surat and other ports which came under the British was a great factor in determining his policy, and Akherajji, his father, had had several dealings with the British which Wakhatsinhji was wise enough to understand greatly benefited his State. In A.D. 1771, for instance, the British, when concluding a treaty with the Nawab of Cambay, bound him never on any pretence to molest Bhavnagar port, or any of the possessions of Akherajji Gohel. In the same

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year the British invited the help of Akherajji in subduing the pirates who had long been a scourge and a danger to Bhavnagar trade, and had lately attacked British shipping. Akherajji agreed, and a combined attack was made on Talaja, which the pirate Kolis had turned into a stronghold. The fort was stormed and taken, and by way of reward the British offered Talaja to Akherajji, who, however, refused the gift as he was unwilling to extend his territories West of the Shatrunji River. Talaja was then given to the Nawab of Cambay. That the British thought highly of Akherajji is further shown by the fact that they asked him to receive and protect Raghunath Rao in A.D. 1771 on his flight from Poona, and whose cause they were then espousing. This act of courtesy and hospitality Akherajji performed, and afterwards sent the Maratha on board one of his own ships to Bombay. He only ruled for eight years, however, and it was for Wakhatsinhji to reap the benefit of his father's foresight and to model his own policy on similar lines. With Wakhatsinhji may be said to have begun those excellent terms of cordiality and friendship which have always subsisted between the British Government and the chiefs of Kathiawad, and which have become too deep-rooted to change.

Let us now follow the career of Amarji, Dewan of Junagadh. As soon as he had performed the task which first gained him a footing with the Nawab, he was sent off to capture Verawal, which had been captured by Sheikh Mian of Mangrol from Bibi Saheba Sultan, who had possessed herself of the place on being driven out of Junagadh some years before. Amarji at this time had been appointed to superintend the military administration in the State, the kind of work which he soon proved himself perfectly capable of undertaking. The army marched to Verawal and encamped at the village of Adri, some four miles from the town. Here the Nawab remained with a

MANGROL INVESTED BY AMARJI

body of troops in reserve, while Amarji with the remainder advanced to the walls of Verawal, on arrival at which they surprised the garrison and put many to the sword. Meanwhile a party of Sindhis had been sent by sea with the object of gaining, if possible, a footing on the seaward side. This detachment, too, entered the town and joined hands with Amarji's force, at which the defenders lost heart and fled. On the next day the Nawab himself brought the remainder of the forces from Adri to Verawal. But Sheikh Mian was not yet conquered, and a year or so later began again making his presence felt in the Southern parts of the Junagadh territory. Amarji again marched against him, and having captured the forts of Shil Bagasra, Dewasa and Mahiari, invested Mangrol. A furious attack was withstood for some time, and indeed repulsed with vigour, Amarji's horse receiving no less than eleven wounds. But the defenders were finally obliged to submit, and Sheikh Mian sent Amarji's own paternal uncle to obtain the best terms he could. Peace was finally made on the Sheikh agreeing to give the Nawab a half-share in his territories.

Shortly after this affair, in A.D. 1770, Sher Zaman Khan of Bantwa, uncle of the Nawab of Junagadh, attacked Junagadh by night in the hope of effecting a surprise and supplanting his nephew as ruler of the State. He advanced against the Majewadi gate of the town, but met with such a hot reception that, perceiving the attack was in no way a surprise, he turned and fled to Bantwa. Amarji had got notice of the intended surprise, and had laid his trap so well that it was not until the fight had been begun that the attacking force recognized their plans had miscarried. Shortly afterwards a Kathi of Jetpur, Kumpa Wala, invited Amarji's assistance in destroying Dalkhania in the Gir Forest, a place which had long been a retreat of outlaws and highway robbers. The combined forces of Kumpa Wala and Junagadh attacked the stronghold,

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and Amarji, after the place had been stormed, vigorously pursued the outlaws and killed great numbers of them. At that time the Gir Forest was filled with such people, who attacked and looted travellers on every possible occasion. Their defeat had a salutary effect, and the Gir became no longer so dangerous as it had formerly been.

It happened that some years before, in A.D. 1759, Hashim Khan, a son of Nawab Sher Khan of Junagadh, had captured Kutiana from Rana Sultanji of Chhaya, and had there established himself. Before long he began to oppress the inhabitants, however, and the Rana becoming very strong, it was anticipated that he would make an effort to regain Kutiana, in which case it was feared Hashim Khan would not put up a very stout defence and might even sell the town. Amarji, therefore, considered it quite advisable to make quite sure that such a valuable frontier post should not be lost to Junagadh, and called upon Hashim Khan to surrender it to him so that adequate measures for its protection might be undertaken. Hashim Khan refused, and defied Amarji to oust him. The Dewan thereupon, in A.D. 1770, advanced against him, and after blowing up by a mine one of the principal bastions, effected an entry into the town. Hashim Khan now surrendered, and was given a *jagir* in a less dangerous part of the Junagadh State, while Amarji's younger brother, Govindji, was installed as Governor of Kutiana.

Towards the end of the year A.D. 1771 Akherajji Gohel of Bhavnagar, shortly before his death, was invited by the British to co-operate with them in an attack on the pirate stronghold at Talaja. The military exploits of Amarji were now becoming well known in the peninsula, and Akherajji invited him to take part in the attack also. An army was thereupon taken from Junagadh and Talaja attacked by the combined forces. In the fight which

THE MIANAS DEFEATED

ensued Amarji was wounded in the leg by a musket-ball. But the port was taken and handed over to the Nawab Nur-ud-din of Cambay, who subsequently, being unable to pay it adequate attention, sold it for eighty thousand rupees to Akherajji's successor, Wakhatsinhji. After the capture of the fort Amarji returned to Junagadh, where he was made the recipient of many gifts by the Nawab Mahabat Khan in appreciation of his prowess.

Amarji now began to make his power felt further afield, and in A.D. 1771 marched Northwards and attacked the troublesome Mianas of Malia. These people had been introduced some years before by Jadeja Morji of Malia, son of Jadeja Kayaji of Morvi, and were a Musalman tribe originally from Sind. They were notorious thieves and altogether a very dangerous community, but brave and hardy to a degree. The reason of Morji's entertainment of such people has never been really discovered, but it is conjectured he introduced them into his service as fighting men to help him to realize some ambitious scheme. Gradually, however, they increased in numbers and power, and became, and have long been, a disturbing element in the North of the peninsula. Amarji's expedition against them proved entirely successful, and after beating them he heavily fined them. He next marched against the Rabaris of Babriawad and compelled them to pay a yearly fine and to restore much property they had plundered from travellers and others.

As in the case of nearly all successful men, Amarji made enemies. Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal feared that his continued run of victories would end in an attack on Dhoraji and Upleta, with the object of regaining them for Junagadh. The Nawab, also, began to fear his powerful Minister, and to believe that the Dewan would endeavour to supplant him when he considered himself sufficiently strong to do so. While he was in this frame of mind, Kumbhoji approached him and pointed out the danger

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of allowing a Dewan to obtain such power, and the two agreed that Amarji must be killed or imprisoned. Amarji with his two brothers, Dullabhji and Govindji, were thereupon seized and thrown into prison, while Jamadar Salmin, who had been Amarji's firm friend since the day when they attacked together the Arabs in the Uparkot and so laid the foundation of their success, was murdered. For five months the Dewan was kept in confinement, and was eventually set free only on promising to pay a heavy fine, for which his son Raghunathji was retained as a hostage. On regaining his liberty Amarji went to Jetpur, where he lived for some time in retirement.

But before many months had elapsed, Nawab Mahabat Khan found he was unable to do without his capable Minister. In A.D. 1774 Sheikh Mian of Mangrol again began ravaging the country, and the Nawab himself determined to take an army against his unruly neighbour. But he was unable to effect his subjugation, and instead began to suffer heavy losses while encamped about fourteen miles from Mangrol. He therefore decided to recall Amarji from Jetpur, and sent messages asking him to resume the Dewanship. About the same time an envoy from the Rao of Kachh arrived in Jetpur, who offered Amarji the Dewanship of Kachh. But he accepted service under his former master, and joined him before Mangrol. Sheikh Mian now submitted, agreed to restore the property he had plundered and to pay a fine, and finally to become a vassal of Junagadh. Amarji now marched against the Zamindar of Sutrapada, and compelled him to surrender the fort and town, which became from that time a Junagadh possession.

Scarcely had Sutrapada been reduced, when Meraman Khawas, Dewan of Nawanagar, invited Amarji to co-operate with him in an attack on Positra, the headquarters of the pirates of Okhamandal (Dwarka). The depredations committed on the seas by these robbers had always

AMARJI CONQUERS POSITRA

been a serious menace to trade, and in spite of many isolated attempts to put down the piracy, it continued unabated. Amarji, therefore, considered the object of attack to be a good one, and, marching Westward, he effected a junction of his forces with those of Nawanagar. The allies now advanced on Positra, and carried the place by mine and assault. The pirates were completely defeated, and an enormous quantity of booty fell into the hands of the conquerors. Before the armies left the scene of operations, news arrived to the effect that Nawab Mahabat Khan of Junagadh had died in April of that year (A.D. 1775), and Amarji at once collected his forces and treasure and marched to Junagadh, where he seated Hamed Khan, a boy of eight years of age, on his father's *gadi*. Having completed this duty, he departed into Jhalawad on a tribute-collecting expedition.

While Amarji was still away from Junagadh, Adil Khan Babi and Mukhtiar Khan Babi of Bantwa induced the young Nawab's mother to take part in a rebellion. They then captured, with scarcely any opposition, the fort of Wanthali, and begged Mahipatrao, the Maratha Governor of Gujarat, who happened at the time to be in Kathiawad collecting tribute, to come to their assistance. On being informed of these happenings, Amarji returned with all speed from his expedition and proceeded to march against the Marathas with all speed. Mahipatrao, being anxious to avoid the chance of defeat, desisted from taking part any longer in the quarrel and made overtures for peace. Amarji allowed them to depart unmolested, but not until they had handed him over such money as they had already collected, and had entrusted him with the collection of the remainder. When this powerful factor had departed, Amarji proceeded to invest Wanthali, which fell before his attack in a very short time. On account of his close relationship with the Nawab's family,

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Mukhtiar Khan's life was spared, and he was permitted to retire in disgrace to Bantwa.

Towards the end of A.D. 1776 the Marathas again entered Kathiawad under Amrat Rao and Thoban, representatives of the Peshwa of Poona and the Gaekwad of Baroda respectively. Amarji was at the time in the Panchal district, but heard of their arrival and desire to fight, and hastened back towards Junagadh. The two armies met at Jetpur, where the Marathas advanced to the attack in great numbers. Amarji resisted vigorously, and in the drawn battle which ensued received himself a wound on the shoulder from a sword, which was only prevented from being fatal by the armour he was wearing concealed at the time. On the following day, neither side having gained any appreciable advantage, peace was brought about by the instrumentality of Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal, and Kanthad Wala, a Kathi chief of Jetpur, and after a mutual exchange of presents and compliments the Marathas returned to Ahmadabad.

Jadeja Waghji of Morvi now requested Amarji to attack the fort of Palanswa and the village of Kerianagar, in the Wagad territory of Kachh. The Dewan agreed, and, crossing the Rann, subdued the two places. He then returned to Saurashtra, after having received many valuable presents as a peace-offering from the Rao of Kachh.

Late in A.D. 1777 Jiwaji Shamraj entered the peninsula with an army to collect money on behalf of the Gaekwad of Baroda. He reached Amreli, and there proceeded to establish himself independently, and to attack all the adjacent territory. He had all but succeeded in making his position secure when Amarji marched against him, considering that a powerful and ambitious neighbour would be dangerous to the interests of Junagadh. The Dewan drove in all the outlying Maratha forces, and Jiwaji Shamraj was compelled to shut himself up in

BETHALI FORT BESIEGED

Amreli, in which town he was besieged. He did not hold out for long, however, and soon surrendered, when he was obliged to leave the province and Amreli fort was destroyed. At the close of the following year, however, Fatehsinha Rao Gaekwad of Baroda himself entered Kathiawad, being anxious to restore Maratha prestige after the disaster sustained by Jiwaji Shamraj. He advanced as far as Jetpur and there encamped. But hearing on all sides of the skill and prowess in war of Amarji, he considered it would be better for the present to put off his belligerent attitude, and to attack at some future and more favourable opportunity. He therefore sent presents to the Dewan instead of a challenge, and remitted the amount of tribute remaining due at the time. The next year he entered Kathiawad with the same intention, but was again obliged to put off his design as he found he was quite unable to try conclusions with Amarji with reasonable chances of success.

In the meanwhile, Rana Sultanji of Chhaya had built in A.D. 1778 the fort of Bethali, near the Nawanagar border, which was regarded by Meraman Khawas, Dewan of Nawanagar, as an act of enmity. He thereupon advanced on Bethali, and Rana Sultanji asked aid from Dewan Amarji in repelling him. Amarji came to his assistance, but not until the defenders had beaten off a determined assault made by the Nawanagar army. On the approach of the Junagadh forces Meraman raised the siege, and a treaty of peace was drawn up and concluded, by which the Nawanagar army desisted from attacking the Rana any further, and the fort was demolished.

Shortly afterwards Rana Sultanji collected a large force of Arabs, who began creating disturbances in the Barda Hills, and so troublesome to the countryside did these men become that Amarji called on the Rana to cause a stop to be put to their depredations. By way of

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supporting his request, he marched in person against the Rana, who submitted with a bad grace, but with the gift of many valuable presents, to the terms imposed upon him. Amarji now expelled some troublesome Sindhis from the forts of Devra and Khageshri, after which he advanced against Una and Delwada, where one Sheikh Tahir had been for some time giving trouble. These two places being subdued, a Nagar Brahman, by name Prabhashankar, was left to look after them, and Amarji returned to Junagadh.

The Dewan's enemies now began to make more determined efforts to secure his overthrow and disgrace, and, if possible, his death. He was feared on every side, and no neighbouring chief knew when it might not be his own turn to have to submit to the all-powerful influence in Junagadh. Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal still feared for his continued possession of Dhoraji and Upleta, and Nawab Hamed Khan was made suspicious of his Dewan's power, as his father had been before him. Meraman Khawas cherished a thought of revenge for Amarji's action at Bethali, and Rana Sultanji was ready to join in any conspiracy against the man who had caused his humiliation in the Barda Hills episode. Jadeja Kumbhoji considered the time had come for a concerted effort to be made to secure the removal of Amarji, and in A.D. 1782 the armies of the principal conspirators advanced on Kutiana, where they began pillaging the surrounding Junagadh territory. Amarji hastened against them and advanced on Jetpur, where he came up with the Nawanagar contingent. Meraman Khawas retreated across the River Bhadar to Panchpipla, where he entrenched himself, but Amarji pursuing him drove him back still further, and gained a victory of some importance. As it chanced, Manaji Gaekwad, brother of Fatehsinha Rao Gaekwad of Baroda, was then in the neighbourhood, and Meraman Khawas called upon him for assistance. In view of the

THE DEATH OF AMARJI

largely augmented force now to be brought against him, Amarji retreated on Junagadh, while the allied forces besieged and stormed the fort of Devra, which fell after an investment lasting seven days. Manaji Gaekwad now refused to take further part in the proceedings, and returned with his army to Baroda, while Meraman Khawas, Rana Sultanji, and Jadeja Kumbhoji retired to their respective capitals.

Amarji now decided to take the offensive and crush his enemies in detail. He therefore made a rapid descent on Rana Sultanji and laid waste his territory. Meraman Khawas, fearing similar reprisals, now made peace, and after paying a large fine sent an army to co-operate against the Rana, who was obliged to submit, to pay an enhanced tribute, and to repair the fort of Devra, which had been much damaged during the recent attack upon it. The Dewan now took an army into Jhalawad to collect tribute, intending to attack Gondal on the return journey. But he was too late. Nawab Hamed Khan suddenly left the army on a plea of sickness to return to Junagadh, and on the way passed through Gondal, where Kumbhoji induced him to be his guest for the night. During the short time at his disposal, he managed to persuade the Nawab that Amarji's very existence was a menace to him, and that he aimed shortly at turning him out of Junagadh and founding his own rule. Before he left Gondal, Hamed Khan agreed to bring about the assassination of his Minister, receiving in return from Kumbhoji a sum of three lakhs of Nawanagar "Koris," when the deed were accomplished. Four conspirators named Manohardas Trikamdas, Mehta Khan, Jubah Khan, and Jiwan Khan agreed, on obtaining promises of great rewards, to murder the Dewan, and on his return from Jhalawad to celebrate the Holi festival he was entrapped in the palace and murdered on March 6, 1784. Simultaneously his brother Dullabhji and his son Ranchhodji were imprisoned.

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

The death of Amarji was a great blot on the Junagadh State. Through his genius and energy it had risen to premier importance in Kathiawad ; and his wise and careful administration, coupled with the knowledge of his power, made him feared and respected even by the Marathas. Amarji had faithfully served the Nawabs, and it is doubtful whether he ever seriously considered an idea of usurping the State and supplanting them. Had he done so, he had numerous opportunities of effecting such an ambition of which a man of his nature would scarcely have failed to take advantage. There can be no doubt that his aim was to secure for the Nawab of Junagadh the complete subjugation of the peninsula. But he failed in this since he was unable to preserve the peace between the many diverse peoples composing its population.

A story typical of the man is told of how he first gained the enmity of Jadeja Kumbhoji, and thereby laid the foundation of his own assassination. Shortly after Kumbhoji had built a strong fort at Dhoraji he showed it one day with pride to the Dewan, expecting that a man of his prowess would appreciate in high terms of praise the fine military work the fort presented. Amarji listened for some time in silence while all the strong points were described to him in detail, and finally when asked for his opinion he said : "It looks well enough, but it is as nothing before even the shoes of the Nawab of Junagadh" ! Kumbhoji, really mortified and insulted, never forgave him for this reply, and from that day became the Dewan's most powerful and most active enemy.

CHAPTER XII

(A.D. 1756–1807)

VERY soon after the minor Jam Jasaji had succeeded his father in Nawanagar, Meraman Khawas was offered a good opportunity of showing the position he intended to assume, and he did not hesitate to take it. Rao Godji of Kachh considered that now was his time to benefit in some way, either in money or land, at the expense of Nawanagar, and wrote threatening letters to Meraman, declaring his intention of invading Nawanagar, and demanding compensation if he should not do so. The Dewan at once marched against the Rao's fort at Balambha, and attacked and captured it before the Rao was able to cross the Rann of Kachh to come to its assistance. When he did succeed in crossing he was not allowed to remain long in the peninsula, but was obliged to retire, not only without having effected anything but instead having lost Balambha, and consequently his footing in Saurashtra. Meraman now began to consolidate his power in Nawanagar, and proceeded to attack Jadeja Halaji of Pardhari, who had seized Modpur after having brought about the assassination of Jam Tamachi in A.D. 1743 and had since been in open rebellion. Modpur was now invested, and surrendered on Halaji being killed by a musket-shot in the neck. Bai Jawuba, who had in A.D. 1756 endeavoured unsuccessfully to bring about Meraman's ruin, now left Nawanagar on the excuse of proceeding on a pilgrimage. Hastening to Dhrangadhra, she plotted there in secret for the removal of Meraman

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from Nawanagar. The Khawas, however, became cognizant of her designs, and induced her to return to Nawanagar, little thinking that the whole of her schemes were known. On the same day on which she returned to Nawanagar she was murdered by Chand Ghori, a servant of Meraman, and by her death the principal influence against which Meraman had had to contend was removed.

We have already seen in the foregoing chapter how in A.D. 1774 Meraman invited Dewan Amarji of Junagadh to co-operate with him in an attack on Positra, and of the successful result of the expedition; and also of the Bethali affair in A.D. 1778, when Meraman quarrelled with Rana Sultanji over the building of the fort near the Nawanagar border. On this latter occasion, as soon as the terms of peace had been drawn up and signed, Meraman invited Amarji to an entertainment at Khambhalia with the intention of poisoning him. But Amarji learnt of his danger and excused himself from attending. In A.D. 1783 Meraman joined the conspiracy against Amarji, and was beaten by him at Panchpipla, near Jetpur, after which he sought and obtained peace, and the combined armies of Nawanagar and Junagadh ravaged the lands of the Jethwas. These terms of friendship with Junagadh were maintained until Amarji was murdered in A.D. 1784, when Meraman gave succour to members of the Dewan's family who fled to escape persecution in Junagadh. Meraman now saw he must make Nawanagar more secure from attack, and in A.D. 1788 he strengthened it by building a fort of white stone, which contained five gates, twenty-three towers, and eight posterns.

Four years later, in A.D. 1792, Meraman felt his power to be sufficiently consolidated for him to undertake an expedition on a large scale, and marched with an army against the Kathis. Without much difficulty he succeeded in capturing most of their principal towns, and

KATHI FORCES SURPRISED

Santhali, Babra, Kotda Pitha, Kariana, Anandpur, Barwala, and Jasdan fell before his onslaught. Wajsur Khachar of Jasdan now offered to exchange Atkot, and on these terms Jasdan was restored to him. But Dada Khachar of Atkot, a relation of Wajsur Khachar, very naturally objected to these proceedings, and showed his feelings in a practical manner by going into outlawry against Nawanagar. Meraman considered that it would be dangerous to leave the country with such a man abroad, fearing he would engineer a rebellion in the lately conquered districts. He thereupon made terms with the Kathi, whereby Atkot was to be handed back to him provided he proceeded with an army against Morvi and were successful in operations against the Jadeja chief of that place. Dada Khachar agreed on condition that he were given sole command of some Nawanagar troops for the purpose, and with a small force which was placed under him he three times ravaged Morvi territory.

While returning from the last raid he was overtaken and surprised by the Morvi forces near Chotila, and his small army was greatly outnumbered. He decided to die fighting, and called for volunteers to stay with him, giving permission to the remainder to save their lives by flight. About thirty Kathis stood by him, and this little band made a desperate charge against the whole Morvi army. Dada Khachar obtained his desire, for he and all his faithful followers were slain after making a noble struggle to break through the ranks of their enemies.

The Jadeja chiefs of Halawad (Halar) now considered that Meraman was becoming too powerful, and that Jam Jasaji should remain no longer in the humiliating position he occupied at Nawanagar, completely under the influence of the Khawas, although being nearly thirty years of age. Accordingly in A.D. 1794 Jadejas Meramanji of Rajkot, Daji of Gondal, Ranmalji of Khirasara, and Modji of Dhrol marched into Nawanagar territory and laid waste

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the country. Meraman Khawas marched against them, supported by Raghunathji, eldest son of the late Dewan Amarji of Junagadh, who came from Chorwad, where he was in retirement, on receiving a call for help from Meraman. Jaswantsinhji Jhala of Dhrangadhra (which place was now the undisputed capital of the Jhalas) brought an army also to the help of Meraman, and in the very short time of one week the Sardhar district of Rajkot had become a waste. It happened that Wakhatsinhji Gohel of Bhavnagar was just then at Jasdan, where he had been chastising the Kathis, and was contemplating an attack on the Kathi stronghold of Jetpur; while marching against him was Nawab Hamed Khan of Junagadh with an army to help the Kathis. Much fighting was imminent between the two, when Meraman Khawas, fearing for his recently conquered Kathi districts, came forward with an offer to mediate between the two, and spent twenty days inducing the would-be combatants to return to their respective capitals. Scarcely had this danger been removed, however, when Nawanagar was threatened by an attack from Kachh, where the Jadeja confederacy had applied for aid. Fateh Mahomed, Dewan of Rao Rayadhanji of Kachh, crossed the Rann at the head of a large army, with which he hoped to avenge the injuries suffered at the hands of Nawanagar in the past. The memory of the loss of Balambha was still fresh, and besides great riches were expected from the plunder of Halar.

Meraman detached his brother, Bhawan Khawas, to meet the new danger, and a portion of the Nawanagar army marched Northwards under him to resist the landing. Bhawan Khawas encamped at Khakhrabela village, awaiting an opportunity to attack. But he was disappointed, for Fateh Mahomed skilfully marched round his flank and encamped on the plain of Pardhari. Here a fight took place on ground advantageous to the invaders, who had

THE BATTLE OF PARDHARI

meanwhile been joined by the detachments of the allied Jadejas. The Kachh army consisted of nearly thirty-five thousand men, and on seeing the forces arranged against him Bhawan Khawas ordered a retreat of the Nawanagar forces to Jhilaria, eight miles to the Westward, at the same time asking Jaswantsinhji Jhala to mediate with the enemy with the object of inducing Fateh Mahomed to return to Kachh. The retreat of the Nawanagar forces was fast resembling a rout when Raghunathji (son of Dewan Amarji) pointed out to Bhawan Khawas the danger he was running, and before a mile of the journey had been completed the retirement was stayed.

The Nawanagar army now formed up in line of battle, Raghunathji commanding the right and Bhawan Khawas the left and centre. The fight commenced with an attack on the right by a large force of Kachh infantry, who were, however, beaten back. Fateh Mahomed now ordered an attack with the whole remaining force on the Nawanagar left, with such success that the whole army of Bhawan Khawas was crumpled up and destroyed. The Khawas fled to Jalia and the Gondal contingent plundered his camp, while Fateh Mahomed moved to the attack of Jaswantsinhji Jhala, whose forces had so far not been engaged. But the Dhrangadhra troops withstood the onslaught and succeeded in extricating themselves creditably. The Kachh army now plundered the country as far as Khambhalia, but avoided Nawanagar, where Meraman Khawas was securely entrenched. In spite of this victory, however, the plans of the allies had so far miscarried that Jam Jasaji still remained entirely subordinate to Meraman Khawas, and he besought the Jadejas and the Rao of Kachh to make one more effort to release him. Meraman heard of this, and by way of deterring any from plotting against him in future, cut off the nose and ears of all who were discovered to have taken any part, however small, in making the fresh overtures.

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The allies were on the point of making further concerted efforts to release the Jam, when in A.D. 1794 a Maratha army of the Peshwa under Abu Shelukar appeared on its annual expedition in Saurashtra. Meraman Khawas decided to buy their help, and succeeded in inducing Abu Shelukar to attack Gondal after paying him large sums of money. The Marathas excelled in this mode of warfare, and laid waste the Gondal territory so effectively that the Jadeja was quickly reduced to a state of helplessness, and when the Marathas returned to Ahmadabad Meraman Khawas had nothing further to fear from him. As Rajkot had been laid waste earlier in the same year, the only enemy Meraman now had to fear was the Rao of Kachh.

In A.D. 1795 a Nawanagar army marched to Dwarka and attacked the Wagher pirates, taking from them several villages and destroying others. Two years later a Maratha army, collecting tribute, encamped at Pardhari, near Nawanagar, and while they were there Jam Jasaji and his younger brother, Sataji, managed to effect for a short time their escape from bondage. They won over a number of Arab soldiers to their side, and on a certain night it was agreed that the Arabs should remain in ambush outside the city, and enter the town in support of the Jam as soon as they should hear the sound of firing. Unfortunately for the Jam, the night chosen proved to be dark and stormy, and when those inside the town opened fire on Meraman's house, the Arabs were unable to come to their assistance, since a river separating them from Nawanagar came down in flood and they were unable to cross it. Jam Jasaji under these circumstances was not sufficiently strong to carry out his design, and was captured and again imprisoned—this time in the Khawas' own house. Here he was kept in strict confinement for two months, during which time Meraman did not even allow him to change his dress. Finally Raghunathji,

NAWANAGAR IS BESIEGED

considering the Khawas had gone too far, advised him to release the Jam. Meraman abused the messenger and, losing his temper, was never afterwards on terms of friendship with Dewan Amarji's son. But he saw the force of the advice and released his captive, keeping him, however, very strictly watched.

Later in the same year (A.D. 1797) Fateh Mahomed again crossed the Rann with an army from Kachh. But this time Meraman was ready for him, and had augmented his army with a large body of mercenary troops of the army of Malhar Rao Gaekwad. In addition he obtained aid from Nawab Hamed Khan of Junagadh at the cost of a large sum of money, while he was successful in inducing Mukhtiar Khan Babi of Bantwa and Sheikh Murtaza of Mangrol to bring contingents to his support. The army thus formed awaited the Kachh troops at Dhensara, near the Rann, in Morvi territory, and when Fateh Mahomed arrived and saw the host arrayed against him, he thought better of attacking it. He agreed to submit all disputes to the arbitration of four men, Raghunathji, Karsangi Jhala, Kalian Hirji, and Shah Shavji, acting respectively for Nawanagar, Dhrangadhra, Junagadh, and Kachh, and retired with his army to the North of the Rann.

In the following year, however, Rao Rayadhanji again returned to the attack, and with Fateh Mahomed and a huge army reached Nawanagar unmolested, where he camped near the Naganath Mahadeva temple. Meraman now barricaded the gates of Nawanagar with bricks, but Fateh Mahomed learning from some of the defenders that one of the walls of the fort was not strongly defended, attacked at the place indicated instead of at the gate where he was expected, counting on help from his friends within the town. But before the Kachh troops had mounted the scaling ladders, Meraman Khawas, inspecting his batteries at dawn, discovered the plan. The assault was delivered with desperate valour, but Fateh Mahomed

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was unable to gain access to the town, and the Kachh army was eventually forced to retire on Khambhalia, which place was also unsuccessfully besieged.

Meraman now decided to attack Bhanwad fort, near Ghumli, which was held by Rajput sympathisers of Jam Jasaji, who had been overrunning the country round in the Barda Hills. Amin Saheb was at this time, in A.D. 1799, sent from Baroda to levy tribute, and happened to be at Wankaner. Meraman sent word to him agreeing to pay the tribute demanded, which was three times the amount usually levied. The danger of attack by the Marathas now being averted, Ranchhodji (the second son of Dewan Amarji) was sent against Bhanwad. But after a desultory siege lasting for over four months the Nawanagar army proved unable to capture the place. Meanwhile Fateh Mahomed again brought an army across the Rann and attacked Nawanagar, and Meraman sent Raghunathji to Shivram Kamedan, who was collecting the Maratha tribute near Viramgam, asking his aid. Shivram consented to assist him and marched towards Nawanagar. But Meraman now repented having called upon him, fearing he would be persuaded to take up the cause of Jam Jasaji against himself. Accordingly he arranged an interview with Fateh Mahomed at Dhumao, and there concluded peace with him. He now wrote to Shivram and informed him he need not trouble to advance further, as the matter in dispute for which his aid had been sought was now settled.

Raghunathji had now to pacify Shivram, since he had made all arrangements with him, and Shivram felt he was being trifled with. He therefore levied money from the district in which the Maratha army was encamped sufficient to pay the expenses of the march across the peninsula, after receiving which Shivram returned to Gujarat. But Meraman was displeased with Raghunathji on this account, and the latter prudently went to Dhrol, instead

DEATH OF MERAMAN KHAWAS

of to Nawanagar, where he began an intrigue with Jam Jasaji.

In the previous year Meraman Khawas had begun to make preparations for the future, fearing he would some day be ousted from his strong position. He therefore obtained from Jam Jasaji written deeds assigning him Jodia, Amran, and Balambha as hereditary possessions, having obtained which he felt his position to be secure. But in A.D. 1800 Meraman Khawas died, and by his death there passed away one of the most successful adventurers who ever attained power in Western India. Filled with a great ambition, he was totally unscrupulous, and had he not died naturally, there is little doubt that he would very shortly have been assassinated. After his death his sons were considered to be unable to succeed to his possessions, since their mother was a Mahomedan ; but Sangram and Pragji, the sons of his brother Bhawan Khawas (who had died in A.D. 1797), were permitted by Jam Jasaji to succeed to the possession of Jodia, Amran, and Balambha, where they retired and became separate tribute-paying landholders.

After the death of Amarji, disorder again reigned in Junagadh. The news of the murder was not long in reaching the ears of Rupoji Sindhia, a personal friend of the late Dewan, and a cousin of Madhaji Sindhia, who was in Saurashtra at the time at the head of a Maratha army. Amarji's relations begged Rupoji to march on Junagadh, and in answer to the appeal he advanced with his army as far as Dhandhusar, a village about eight miles from Junagadh, from where he sent a messenger to the Nawab advising him to release all the relations of the murdered Dewan whom he had placed in confinement. The Nawab was obliged to yield, but after he had done so the Maratha army remained encamped at Dhandhusar while Rupoji demanded some satisfactory arrangement for the maintenance of the released prisoners. As a result

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certain villages were handed over to them, and Raghunathji, Amarji's eldest son, was appointed Dewan of Junagadh. The Maratha forces now retired, but the Arab soldiery, who had all along been faithful to Amarji, confined the Nawab in tents near the Wanthali gate in Junagadh, and refused to release him until their arrears of pay should be satisfied. The Nawab, however, succeeded by a trick in escaping. Having sent for a covered chair, he spread the report that his mother, whom he had not seen for several months, was coming to visit him. The chair was brought inside a tent, while the Arabs remained on guard outside. The Nawab now made the chair-carriers carry him out concealed beneath the curtain, while a servant, Rahmat Khan, took the Nawab's place on a bed in the tent and so deceived the guards. As soon as he found himself free, the Nawab made a furious attack on the disaffected portion of his army with those troops who remained loyal to him. Finally a compromise was effected, and the Arabs returned to duty when half their demands had been paid them.

Raghunathji's position as Dewan quickly became very difficult, and intrigues were soon made with the object of obliging him to resign. His relations, seeing how matters stood, went to live at Jetpur, while the Dewan stayed at Verawal. The Nawab, however, succeeded by bribes and promises in inducing the garrison to expel him from this place, and he, too, now went to Jetpur. Finally, in A.D. 1785 the Nawab decided to take back all the villages he had handed over under pressure from the Marathas the year before, and Sutrapada, the most important of these villages, was now resumed. The remaining villages soon shared the same fate; but Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal, seeing how matters stood and fearing the Marathas rather than the Nawab, made friends with the family of Amarji and gave them every assistance.

Finding the strong hand of Amarji removed, the

RANA SULTANJI CAPTURES VERAVAL

principal officers of the Arab and Sindhi troops in the Nawab's employ now endeavoured to become independent. The Nawab, however, managed to expel them from Junagadh, when they immediately went to Wanthali, where they were able to defend themselves in strength. All efforts of the Nawab to dislodge them failed, and he then endeavoured to obtain help from Rana Sultanji, but without avail. Seeing now something of his folly in murdering his Minister and driving out his family, he made overtures to Amarji's brother Dullabhji and his son Raghunathji to return to his service, which they consented to do, and shortly afterwards the rebellious Arabs and Sindhis returned to their allegiance.

In A.D. 1787 the Jagirdar of Chorwad, Sanghji Raizadah, was killed in a battle with Aliya Hathi of Malia. Rana Sultanji, who had transferred his headquarters permanently to Porbandar from Chhaya in A.D. 1785, now claimed relationship with the dead chief, and gained possession of Chorwad on agreeing to pay the demands of the troops who had fought against Malia. Seeing Verawal now practically undefended, the Rana in A.D. 1788 made a night-march from Chorwad and surprised and captured the fort. He now made the mistake of quarrelling with the Sheikh of Mangrol, and when the Nawab, accompanied by Dullabhji and Raghunathji, marched to recapture Chorwad, the Sheikh was also against him. The Rana's forces under Ibrahim Khan made a gallant stand, but they were not sufficiently strong to withstand the attack for long, and were finally obliged to surrender after Ibrahim Khan had been killed.

The Nawab now marched on Verawal, which he found strongly fortified to resist him. A counter-attack by the garrison was repulsed, but the besieging force were unable to make any headway. Eventually two men, Ali Khan Ataji and Hansoji, turned traitor within the fort, and on a dark night admitted the Nawab's army through a

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postern gate. The garrison did not discover what was happening until three hundred men had entered the fort. But in spite of the disadvantageous position in which they found themselves they made a brave resistance, and only fled when a cousin of the Rana Sultanji had been slain. After the recapture of Verawal the army of the Nawab marched against Porbandar, and compelled the Rana to surrender and to pay a large fine.

Meanwhile Ranchodji, to whom Sutrapada had been restored, quarrelled with the Nawab, and for six months retired from his service, until finally he was solicited earnestly to return, which he did. Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal contrived to profit by the misunderstanding, and before it was removed he succeeded in obtaining from the Nawab a document granting him the villages of Jetalsar, Meli, Majethi, Lath, and Bhimora in perpetuity. In exchange for these he wrote off the debt which the Nawab had borrowed from him in A.D. 1774, and which he saw no hope of being paid back to him.

The town of Bantwa was now attacked by Daghoji Raizadah, the Zamindar of Kesoj (Keshod), and Edal Khan Babi with Mukhtiar Khan Babi sought aid from their kinsman the Nawab in repelling the invader. Dullabhiji and Ranchodji (brother and son of Amarji) were sent in command of troops to their aid, and a battle was fought at Agatrali village, where Mukhtiar Khan was wounded. Subsequently another fight took place at Mawana, where the forces of Daghoji were defeated, and he was compelled to retire from Bantwa, to pay a fine, and to deliver up all the property he had taken. He then returned to his headquarters, but a few months later was in such straits for want of money to pay his troops that he was very glad to sell Kesoj to Junagadh.

In A.D. 1790 the Arabs again mutinied in Junagadh, and demanded arrears of pay to be given them. The Nawab was unable to comply with their request, and so

ARAB REVOLT IN JUNAGADH

was seized by them and imprisoned in the Rang Mahal palace, where they refused him even food and water. The Nawab, however, managed to win over several of his guards and soon contrived to escape. Collecting what forces he could raise, he now expelled the mutineers with ignominy, and sent another force to cope with the Arabs at Chorwad, who had followed the example of their friends in Junagadh. The Chorwad Arabs held out for some time and ravaged the country round, but they were finally defeated and surrendered the fort. The next year Saurashtra was visited by a disastrous famine, and to make matters worse the Maratha army levying tribute ravaged the country as far as Verawal. Hamed Sindhi, the commander, was consequently able to collect very little money, and was returning to Gujarat discontented in A.D. 1792 when the Nawab's forces fell upon him about eight miles from Junagadh and hastened the departure of his troops. Hamed Sindhi himself was killed in the fight.

Nawab Hamed Khan now began again to fear the family of Amarji, and forgetting all they had done for him and his State, determined to rid himself of them for good. Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal again incited him, and there were not lacking in Junagadh itself others who stood to benefit by the departure of the Nawab's powerful advisers, and were ready to welcome their downfall. And so it happened that in A.D. 1793 Raghunathji was imprisoned, without any reason, with his brother Morarji, and other adherents, and their houses and property were all confiscated. Meanwhile Ranchodji seized Kodinar and openly rebelled against this treatment, and shortly afterwards Raghunathji and Morarji were released, though their principal adherents were executed. Ranchodji was now approached by Meraman Khawas, and as a result he entered Nawanagar service and was given the villages of Pardhari and Atkot. Morarji went to Bhavnagar, where

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

Wakhatsinhji Gohel gave him four villages for his maintenance. Mangalji, son of Govindji (who had died in A.D. 1790), sought service under Rana Sultanji, whence he afterwards went to Nawanagar in command of a regiment of cavalry.

The Nawab now exacted a large fine from the Nagar Brahmans of Junagadh, and a Bania named Kalian Sheth with Madhavrai Khushalrai, a Nagar of Gujarat, were appointed joint Dewans. But these two soon quarrelled, and Madhavrai, after escaping from Junagadh by digging a passage under the Western wall of the town, seized Wanthali.

The Nawab proceeded to Wanthali, and called upon Raghunathji to help him to recover the fort. Raghunathji, who was in Nawanagar at the time, sent Ranchodji to represent him, and on his arrival Madhavrai surrendered. Ranchodji returned to Nawanagar, while Madhavrai went to Gondal and thence to Baroda, where Mahadji Sindhia procured him an appointment as Vakil at the Moghal Court at Delhi. Amin Saheb, the son of Hamed Sindhi, who had been killed near Junagadh in A.D. 1792, now asked permission to take a Maratha army against the Nawab, and to revenge his father's death. This permission was given, and in A.D. 1798 the Maratha army advanced against Majewadi, seven miles from Junagadh, and captured the fort. Amin Saheb now demanded tribute from Junagadh to the extent of three times the usual amount, and until this was paid he refused to withdraw.

The result of paying out this large amount of money was that Kalian Sheth, Dewan of Junagadh, had nothing left at his disposal for paying his troops. He therefore decided to capture Dhandhalpur from the Kathi Godad Khawad, and in this way raise the necessary money. But the Kathis withheld him manfully, and after a siege lasting two months he was forced to retire to Junagadh.

THE SIEGE OF KUTIANA

The troops had by now become more dissatisfied than ever, and clamoured loudly for their pay. Kalian Sheth therefore ravaged the district round Kutiana and Porbandar, hoping thus to pay his men. He was now joined by Mukhtiar Khan Babi of Bantwa, who had been disgraced by Amarji, and went with him into open rebellion against Junagadh, apparently with the intention of forming for himself an independent rule. The Nawab was now in great straits, and sent messengers to Nawanagar asking Raghunathji to forgive past injuries and to come to his assistance. Raghunathji loyally accepted the invitation and took up a position at Wanthali, at the same time calling on his brother Ranchodji at Porbandar for aid. Ranchodji while on his way to Wanthali was met at Ranawao by Mukhtiar Khan, who asked forgiveness and safe conduct to Bantwa. Both his requests were granted, and Kalian Sheth was left alone to work out his schemes. He retired to Kutiana and was at once besieged by Ranchodji.

For a whole month the fort held out, the guns of the Junagadh army making little impression on the strong walls surrounding the town. Resort was now had to mining, but this also proved unsuccessful. Finally one of the gates was set on fire, and this, followed up by a determined attack by the besiegers, caused Kalian Sheth's position to become untenable, and he was obliged to surrender in A.D. 1802. Shortly afterwards he died in prison at Diu, and with the surrender of Chorwad and Una, which had declared for the Dewan and had been held by his son, the rebellion was quashed. After the capture of Kutiana, Raghunathji set out on an expedition into Jhalawad to collect tribute, accompanied by Jadeja Dewaji of Gondal, and Ranchodji joined him after the surrender of Una and Chorwad. While the Junagadh forces were halted at Limbdi, Raghunathji was approached by the Gaekwad of Baroda for aid in the siege of Kadi,

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

which he was undertaking against Shivram Kamedan, Malhar Rao, and his brother, Hanmat Rao. Simultaneously the latter also asked for his help, but declining to give assistance to either side, Raghunathji marched his forces back to Junagadh.

Kadi fell, and two years afterwards Malhar Rao fled to Kathiawad, and collecting an army from among all the desperate characters of the peninsula, he set up his standard against all. An army from Baroda was sent to apprehend him, and he was eventually captured near Bhavnagar and surrendered to the English. In A.D. 1803 Ranchodji again went into Jhalawad, where he levied double the tribute usually levied by Junagadh. At Dhrangadhra he met with opposition of a feeble nature from Shivram Kamedan and Hanmant Rao, who had been released after the capture of Kadi. Kukand Rao now rebelled against the Gaekwad at Amreli, where he seized the fort. He captured the Nagar Desais of Wasawad, and imprisoned them until they should pay ransom. In their plight they appealed to the Nawab of Junagadh, and Ranchodji, taking an army against Amreli, captured it after a week's siege and drove out Mukand Rao.

In the following year Babaji Apaji, Dewan of Baroda, entered Saurashtra with a large army, and levied three times the amount of tribute usually exacted. Being opposed by Nawab Hamed Khan, he besieged Wanthal, but not being able to take the place after two months' fighting, he withdrew along the coast towards Baroda. Ranchodji now hung on his flanks and rear, and harassed the Marathas without giving them any opportunity for fighting a pitched battle. Finally, as the price of desistance from this guerilla warfare, Babaji Apaji was glad to restore all the written bonds and deeds he had extracted from the villages and to take only the ordinary amount of tribute. Until the arrival of Colonel Walker with the Gaekwad's army in A.D. 1807 to conclude a settlement

PEACE IN KATHIAWAD

regarding the tribute to be paid, the happenings in Kathiawad were of minor importance. In A.D. 1804 Rana Sultanji of Porbandar was deposed by his son Haloji, and in the following year Ranchodji levied tribute from Rajkot on behalf of the Nawab of Junagadh, who had in the same year mortgaged Kutiana to Raghunathji and thus declared his friendship with the family which had done so much for him. Colonel Walker's arrival opened up a new epoch in the annals of Saurashtra, and the year A.D. 1807 was the beginning of an era of peace such as the peninsula had not experienced since Mahmud of Ghazni made his incursion to obtain possession of the treasure of Somnath temple nearly eight hundred years before.

CHAPTER XIII

(A.D. 1772–1807)

WHEN Wakhatsinhji Gohel succeeded his father as ruler of Bhavnagar in A.D. 1772, he found himself to be the owner of a very desirable property. The first years of his rule were spent in improving the administration, and it was not until he had been on the *gadi* for eight years that he began to enlarge his dominions. In A.D. 1771 Akherajji had refused to accept Talaja when that place was offered to him by the English, as he did not wish to extend his boundaries. But in A.D. 1780 Wakhatsinhji again got the opportunity of adding it to Bhavnagar, for the Nawab of Cambay, being unable to keep order and finding the administration of the stronghold somewhat of a burden, offered to sell it. Wakhatsinhji had not the objections which his predecessor had had to including it within his borders, and accepted the Nawab of Cambay's offer after having ascertained from the British Government that they had no objections to make to the transaction. The Governor of Talaja, Nur-ud-din, refused, however, to deliver up the place, and Wakhatsinhji was obliged to take an army against him and drive him out, which he did after some fighting.

Scarcely was this affair over, when the Gohel chief of Lathi besought Wakhatsinhji to come to his assistance in driving out the Kathis who had laid waste his territories. Wakhatsinhji led his army against the marauders, defeated them, and compelled them to acknowledge his supremacy. Trouble now centred round Talaja. Hamir Khasia, the

THE CAPTURE OF MAHUVA

Zamindar of Waghnagar, having seized Jhanjhmer and made that place his headquarters, conducted a number of raids on villages subject to Talaja, and created much misery. Wala Khimoji, Wakhatsinhji's newly appointed governor at Talaja, found himself unable to cope with the raiders, and asked Wakhatsinhji to punish them. An army from Bhavnagar thereupon marched on Jhanjhmer and captured it, but Hamir Khasia managed to escape and fled to Gopnath, where he took refuge with a friend. He was eventually surrendered after receiving a promise that his life would be spared on condition that he desisted from attacking Bhavnagar territory, and Wakhatsinhji sent him back to Waghnagar. He now quarrelled with his uncle, Jasa Khasia of Mahuva, and attacked him, but without success. He therefore suggested to Wakhatsinhji that now was a good opportunity for adding Mahuva to his dominions, and the latter being desirous of punishing Jasa Khasia for a recent act of piracy committed against a Bhavnagar ship, fell in with the suggestion, and marched against Mahuva with a large force of fifteen thousand men. The town was reached in A.D. 1784, after much difficulty had been experienced in passing through country covered with a forest of thorn-trees, through which a way had to be cut.

A seven days' fight ensued, the attacking force being unable to make good a footing within the fort. But finally a portion of the wall was breached by artillery and the Bhavnagar army effected an entrance. Meanwhile Jasa Khasia had fled to Rajula, and after his departure his troops gave up hope and surrendered. At Rajula Jasa Khasia induced the Zamindar, Bhola Dhankhado, to endeavour to recover Mahuva for him, and Wakhatsinhji found himself confronted with a new enemy. He marched on Rajula, while Bhola Dhankhado retired before him and finally surrendered. Rajula now came with Mahuva under Wakhatsinhji's rule, and garrisons were

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

placed in both forts. He now marched against Danta Kotila of Dedan, to whom Jasa Khasia had fled for protection. But Danta Kotila refused help to Jasa Khasia, and instead acknowledged the supremacy of Bhavnagar, whereupon Wakhatsinhji did not pursue the fugitive further and returned to his capital. Danta Kotila was a Babria chief who was so called on account of his having been born with teeth already "cut."

Jasa Khasia made his way to the Gir Forest, and there indulged in making raids against villages around Mahuva, and in waylaying and looting travellers. His nephew, Hamir Khasia, helped him and gave him shelter when necessary, and hearing of this Wakhatsinhji ordered the Governor of Mahuva to take his troops and capture Waghnagar. The town fell before the onslaught, and Hamir Khasia fled to the Gir, where he joined his uncle and became with him an outlaw. The energy with which Wakhatsinhji had conducted his campaign against the pirates infesting his coasts had not been without result, and the seas had become tolerably safe for shipping. He now pointed out all this to the British Government, and asked in return for aid should the Nawab of Junagadh attack him out of jealousy for his success. In reply he received from the British their warm appreciation of all he had been able to accomplish.

Affairs at Kundla now engaged the attention of Wakhatsinhji. The district was in the possession of a Kathi named Ala Khuman, whose six sons—Bhoja, Mulu, Hada, Luna, Sura, and Vira Khuman—quarrelled regarding the partition of the property when he died in A.D. 1784. Bhoja Khuman felt he in particular had suffered by the division, and so he approached Wakhatsinhji and made over to him his share of the property with certain reservations. He then returned to Kundla, only to find all his brothers ready to kill him for his action in the matter. Bhoja Khuman appealed to Bhavnagar for help, and

WAKHATSINHJI CAPTURES KUNDLA

Wakhatsinhji despatched a force to garrison the town and protect his interests. But the remaining five brothers resisted and drove back the troops. At this stage two other of the brothers went to Junagadh, where they asked aid against Mulu Khuman, offering the same inducement to Nawab Hamed Khan that Bhoja Khuman had made to Wakhatsinhji Gohel. The Nawab now also sent a force to Kundla, which was repulsed as before by Mulu Khuman.

The Nawab had now no opportunity to return to the attack, since Junagadh was in a state of turmoil following the death of Dewan Amarji ; so in A.D. 1790 Wakhatsinhji thought the time propitious for taking a large army to Kundla and establishing himself there. All excepting Bhoja Wala now united to oppose him, and after two days' furious fighting the Kathis made a counter attack by night. Wakhatsinhji, however, had heard of their intention, and repulsed them, at the same time sending a force round the flank to intercept their return to the town. The result of this manœuvre was that the Kathis fled in all directions and Wakhatsinhji entered Kundla.

Shortly afterwards the Kathis reassembled at Mitiala, where they were joined by a small force sent to their aid by the Nawab of Junagadh. But the united armies were not sufficiently strong to recapture Kundla, and Wakhatsinhji, perceiving their hesitation, took the initiative against them, and marching on Mitiala, repeated the success he had obtained at Kundla. Bhavnagar troops now occupied both places, and Wakhatsinhji next marched against the Kathis of Lilia and Gundaran, who were aided by a small force from Junagadh under one Mahomed Tora, which had been sent to assist them at their request. These places shared the same fate as Kundla and Mitiala, and Wakhatsinhji's power became paramount throughout the district. The Khuman Kathis, despairing of getting any effectual aid from Junagadh on account of the disorder

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

reigning there, now appealed to Vira Wala, a Kathi of Jetpur. The Wala Kathis were quite ready to help their brethren Khumans, and Kumpa Wala of Chital, an important Kathi stronghold, undertook to amass a strong army. He called for aid from the Khachar Kathis, and Wajsur Khachar of Jasdan brought a large force to Chital. In a short time the whole of the Kathi fighting men had formed themselves into a formidable array under Kumpa Wala, and assembled at Chital ready to make a move on Bhavnagar. But they waited too long. In A.D. 1793 Wakhatsinhji, hearing of the forces being collected to attack him, decided to attack first. He therefore assembled as large an army as he could collect, and calling upon the Gohels of Wala and Lathi to join him, marched against Chital and invested the Kathi army within the fort.

Wakhatsinhji took up a strong position outside the town and proceeded to batter the walls with his artillery. This mode of warfare was little suited to the Kathis, who chafed at their inaction and much preferred raiding to fighting a pitched battle. Gradually the Kathi leaders gave up fighting and retired with their followers from the fort. Wakhatsinhji waited until the number of the defenders had greatly diminished, and then he launched his whole army in a vigorous attack upon them. The walls were breached and after some hard fighting those Kathis who had not fled, or been killed, surrendered, and Chital came into Wakhatsinhji's hands. Kumpa Wala fled to Jetpur, while his brother, Bhaya Wala, was taken prisoner. Wajsur Khachar returned to Jasdan in safety, but Wakhatsinhji hotly pursued the flying Kathis as far as Kunkavao, and inflicted great loss upon them. Here he released Bhaya Wala, and then returned to Chital, where he placed a garrison. He now attacked and captured Saldi and then immediately marched on Gadhra and Botad, which places he subdued without difficulty. The Kathis of Babra were also defeated and the town

THE KATHIS ROUTED

wall demolished, but as the place was mortgaged to the Gaekwad of Baroda, Wakhatsinhji refrained from placing a garrison there and turned his steps towards Jasdan.

At Jasdan Wajsur Khachar had prepared to resist. But Wakhatsinhji's artillery proved too strong for him, and after withstanding a siege of but a few days he fled to Bhoira, whither Wakhatsinhji pursued him. But he escaped, and after leaving garrisons in all the important places he had recently captured from the Kathis, Wakhatsinhji returned to Bhavnagar.

Jasa Khasia died in A.D. 1793, and Hamir Khasia, seeing the complete defeat of the Kathis, became anxious to make peace with Bhavnagar. Wakhatsinhji, realizing that it is sometimes advisable to conciliate a foe rather than to exasperate him, and having sufficient enemies already against him, accepted Hamir Khasia's overtures. On receiving a promise never to rebel, nor to harbour enemies of Bhavnagar, he handed over to him ten villages under Sedarda and gave twelve under Monpur to his nephew, Khima Khasia.

As soon as the principal Kathi strongholds had been reduced, Wakhatsinhji found himself opposed by his kinsman Unadji Gohel of Palitana, whose one ambition was to obtain possession of Sihor, considering that his ancestor Kandhoji of Gariadhar had been wrongly dispossessed of the fortress by Visoiji Gohel two hundred years before. He was also jealous of Wakhatsinhji's success, and calling upon the Khuman Kathis, who had fled for refuge to the Gir Forest, he promised them revenge on Wakhatsinhji for their wrongs if they joined with him in his enterprise. He easily and quickly collected a substantial force of fighting men, and meditated a march on Tana as a preliminary to attacking Sihor. The Bhavnagar army had in the meanwhile been paid off and disbanded, and Wakhatsinhji found some difficulty in raising a sufficient number of men to resist the threatened

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invasion. But he decided to occupy Sihor for the present, and marched there with such forces as he could collect in a short time, reaching the fort before Tana had been invested.

Unadji Gohel had meanwhile set out from Palitana, but his son Kandhoji, imagining he had discovered some ill omen, called him back, and the army marched without him. When Wakhatsinhji heard of the advance, he decided to attack despite his inferiority in numbers, his army being commanded by Raimalji Gohel. When the two armies met the fight began, and almost at once one of the leading Kathis was killed. The remaining Kathis dismounted to recover his body, seeing which Raimalji led a charge of his whole army. The Kathis, in confusion, were soon driven off the field, while the disheartened and leaderless troops of Palitana broke and fled, hotly pursued by Raimalji's cavalry.

The defeated Kathis fled to the Gir Forest and Wakhatsinhji returned to Bhavnagar after leaving troops to defend Tana, Budhna, and Madhra in case of a fresh attack. The Kathis were not yet beaten, however, and Hada Khuman, their leader, pursued guerilla warfare against Bhavnagar with vigour. He plundered Langala, in the Umrala district, but Wakhatsinhji coming up quickly with his accustomed dash overtook him at Goghasamdi and inflicted severe punishment on the Kathi forces. They fled in confusion into the forest, and Wakhatsinhji returned to Sihor. The Kathis next attacked the Wanani Girasias at the instigation of Unadji Gohel, and they called on Wakhatsinhji for protection. He defeated the invaders and drove them away, and at the end of A.D. 1794 scarcely a Kathi remained in his territory.

The Maratha army under Shivram Kamedan camped at Moti Dharai in A.D. 1795 while engaged on one of their annual expeditions, with the intention of attacking Sihor. Wakhatsinhji sent him word that he would be unable to

THE BATTLE OF LOLIANA

pay any tribute as his country was waste and barren, and had suffered much from the wars of the past few years. Shivram considered this message to be most insolent, and sent back word that unless the tribute were paid at once, together with arrears of the past ten years, he would proceed to conquer the country and would occupy Bhavnagar town with a permanent garrison. Wakhatsinhji, however, felt himself to be sufficiently strong to resist the Marathas with a reasonable chance of success, and his reply to Shivram was to march against him with his large and well-equipped army. The two forces met at Loliana, where a fight took place which lasted for three days without decided advantage to either side. But a drawn battle was in effect a victory for Wakhatsinhji, for the Maratha general, realizing that in the event of defeat he would meet with resistance from all the remaining chiefs of the peninsula and would be refused payment of all tribute, decided to retire. The Bhavnagar troops were too exhausted and had lost too heavily to follow up their advantage, and the crippled Maratha army made its way to Hathasni, and thence, after partially recouping, continued on its collecting expedition. Bhavnagar, however, paid no tribute this year.

While Wakhatsinhji's attention had been entirely taken up by the Marathas, Unadji Gohel of Palitana and Hada Khuman thought the time had come for making an attack on Sihor. But they were beaten back with loss by Pathabhai, who was in command of the fort during Wakhatsinhji's absence. Meanwhile the battle of Loliana was fought, and Unadji went to Shivram's camp and endeavoured to persuade that general to continue fighting and to attack Sihor. But he was unsuccessful, for the Maratha considered that he would have little chance of success against the fort, having been virtually beaten in a pitched battle, and the fort having held out against Unadji in spite of the weakness of its garrison. Unadji

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

therefore returned to Palitana, only just in time to arrive there before Wakhatsinhji with his army arrived to invest the fort. The attack was conducted with vigour, and Palitana was seriously damaged by Wakhatsinhji's artillery; but he failed to obtain an entrance and marched away to ravage the surrounding country. Gariadhar was plundered, and the army afterwards returned to Bhavnagar.

But Wakhatsinhji was allowed little time for reflection or peace, and the following year (A.D. 1796) found him still fighting strenuously, this time with Nawab Hamed Khan of Junagadh and his former Kathi foes. Mamaya Dhankhado, brother of Bhola Dhankhado of Rajula, who had been defeated by Wakhatsinhji in A.D. 1784, became dissatisfied with his condition of complete subjection to Bhavnagar and besought help from the Nawab, offering by way of inducement to make over to him a share in the town after the Bhavnagar troops should be driven out. Hamed Khan had long regarded Wakhatsinhji as a powerful rival, but had not yet been able to try conclusions in war on a big scale with him on account of the disorders in and about Junagadh, which prevented him from paying much attention to matters which did not directly concern him. He now saw his way to send a small force to Rajula, and when this was repulsed he augmented it with a further two thousand men, and by dint of numbers succeeded in driving out the defenders and occupying the fort. On hearing of the fall of Rajula, Wakhatsinhji immediately despatched a considerable force to recapture it, ordering troops from Mahuva to co-operate in the attack. As a result, before reinforcements could arrive from Junagadh, the Nawab's forces were driven out and Rajula was again occupied by Wakhatsinhji's men.

Hamed Khan now became seriously agitated, and determined at all costs to defeat Wakhatsinhji and regain his prestige. He therefore collected as large an army

THE BATTLE OF WARAL

as he could muster and marched on Kundla, which he took after a short fight, and then on Rajula. On the way he was joined by great numbers of Kathis, who now saw an opportunity for avenging the many defeats they had suffered three years before. The small Bhavnagar force in Rajula was unable to withstand the terrific onslaught made upon it, and when its leaders had been killed, and a successful defence became hopeless, it surrendered. Having captured Rajula, the Nawab decided to attack Bhavnagar, to the great delight of the Kathis, who gave him little opportunity for changing his mind. Wakhatsinhji was undismayed, and marched to meet his opponents with all the fighting men he could collect. The armies met at Waral, where an indecisive battle was fought, but the troops of the Nawab had been so severely handled that he was obliged to retire after the fight towards Lathi, and encamped at Jarakhia. After a short time spent in recouping, he again marched in the direction of Patna, Wakhatsinhji advancing from Dhasa to oppose him. A furious and indecisive battle again took place, and at the end of a day's fighting both Wakhatsinhji and the Nawab were glad to entertain a proposal of peace made by Jiaji Jethwa, a near relation of Wakhatsinhji's brother-in-law, Rana Sultanji of Porbandar. The terms finally agreed upon were that Wakhatsinhji should pay tribute to the Nawab, who was to resign all claims on Kundla, Rajula, and several other places of lesser importance. Peace being thus concluded, Wakhatsinhji returned to Bhavnagar, while Nawab Khan marched to Dhandhalpur, accompanied by his Dewan, Kalian Sheth (who had strongly advised the Nawab to make peace), and attacked unsuccessfully the Kathi chief Godad Khawad.

Wakhatsinhji now decided it would be to his advantage to make peace with the Kathis, fearing that they might induce the Nawab to attack him again in greater strength than before. He therefore offered to restore Chital to

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Kumpa Wala, and in A.D. 1797 the Kathi chief re-occupied the town on the understanding that he would not assist the Kathis of Kundla against Bhavnagar, and that he would not succour outlaws from the State. The result of this move soon became apparent. The Kundla Kathis under Hada Khuman seeing their cause against Bhavnagar to be hopeless, made complete surrender to Wakhatsinhji, from whom they received Babriadhar and ten other villages. This further instance of generous treatment to his former foes by Wakhatsinhji induced Wajsur Khachar of Jasdan to ask for peace, while other Kathis quickly followed his example and secured the restoration of a part of the lands which had been taken from them.

With the pacification of the Kathis, Wakhatsinhji became free to turn his attention to the internal development of the resources of his State, and to cultivate his friendship with the British Government, which had been so well begun for him by his father. In A.D. 1802 the British became paramount in Gujarat, and Wakhatsinhji was bound to come into close touch with them on account of the geographical position of his State, and its proximity to both Gujarat and Baroda. As a result of the Treaty of Bassein in A.D. 1802 between the British Government and the Peshwa of Poona, the British became entitled to collect the tribute due from Wakhatsinhji to the latter. The centre of British activity, so far as it related to Kathiawad, was at this time at Baroda, where a Resident had been placed, and Anand Rao Gaekwad was the recipient of British support and advice. Several of his enemies had been defeated with the aid of British troops in Gujarat and elsewhere, and in A.D. 1804 a powerful force under Babaji Apaji was sent into Saurashtra to restore the Maratha prestige, which had for some years been declining, and to enforce payment of tribute from all chiefs in the peninsula. Babaji Apaji advanced on Sihor, and on arrival at Ambla, ten miles distant from

THE MARATHAS REPULSED

the fort, he sent a demand to Wakhatsinhji for payment of the annual levy. Wakhatsinhji refused to comply with the request, and prepared to resist the Marathas at Sihor. Babaji Apaji now advanced, but was unable to compel the surrender of Wakhatsinhji in spite of the most determined assaults which were made.

Finally the Marathas were obliged to retire, but in the following year they again marched against Wakhatsinhji at Bhavnagar, determined this time to be successful at all costs. The Marathas entrenched themselves near the Gadhechi River, and for ten days maintained a continuous artillery fire on the town. The assault was, however, beaten off, but the town had been severely battered, and Wakhatsinhji perceiving that in the end he must be beaten, agreed with a good grace to pay the tribute demanded, on receipt of which Babaji Apaji raised the siege and retired.

Wakhatsinhji had now made peace with all his principal enemies, with the exception of Unadji Gohel of Palitana. In A.D. 1806 Jadeja Kumbhoji of Gondal came to Bhavnagar to mediate between the two Gohel chiefs, and he carried some weight since his son had married Wakhatsinhji's daughter. His efforts ended in success, for Wakhatsinhji and Unadji became reconciled at Lavarda, the latter making his kinsman a present of the village of Pingli, near Talaja, to commemorate the occasion.

In the next year Colonel Walker, on behalf of the British Government, entered Kathiawad with the Maratha army, and with his advent a new era was opened, making the year A.D. 1807 for ever memorable in the history of the peninsula.

CHAPTER XIV

(A.D. 1807–1808)

THE reasons leading to the entry of the British into Kathiawad were for the most part twofold : firstly those affecting the interests of the inhabitants of the peninsula ; and secondly those relating to the state of friendship existing between the British Government and the Gaekwad of Baroda. We have already seen that a Resident had been stationed at Baroda and that British troops had recently acted in conjunction with the Gaekwad's army in the task of pacifying Gujarat, and putting down rebellion elsewhere. Consequently it followed that when year by year the Marathas met with refusals to pay tribute, and even with active resistance while engaged in collecting their dues in Kathiawad, some means had to be devised whereby regular payments should be made and bloodshed avoided. In addition to this, a number of chiefs which included Jadeja Sataji, brother of Jam Jasaji of Nawanagar, the Jadeja chief of Morvi, and the Kathis of Chital, Jetpur and Kundla, had applied to the British for assistance against their more powerful oppressors. In consequence of these considerations, it was arranged and decided that Colonel Alexander Walker, Resident at Baroda, should accompany the Maratha army on its expedition under Babaji Apaji in A.D. 1807 with authority to fix the amounts of tribute to be paid by each State, and to decide where British aid should be extended to suppliant chiefs and to what extent. There were, indeed, further reasons for taking such action. In A.D. 1803 the Rana of Por-

COLONEL WALKER ENTERS KATHIAWAD

bandar had plundered property belonging to the Persian ambassador, for which no redress had been taken. It was necessary to take steps to prevent the possibility of such outrages in future. In addition to this, the Nawab of Junagadh had plundered a quantity of wheat belonging to the British, and had robbed an inhabitant of Bombay of some valuable property, for which acts of aggression it had so far been impossible to exact compensation.

When Colonel Walker entered the peninsula in A.D. 1807 the country was in a state of chronic disorder and desolation, the result primarily of the annual Maratha expeditions. The villages of Jhalawad were few and those in a miserable state, while their inhabitants lived in a constant state of fear of aggression. The land was destitute of woods and trees to such an extent that fuel was practically un procurable, while cultivation was scarcely undertaken. The population of the country districts had almost entirely disappeared throughout the province, the people preferring to seek safety in walled towns. On the road between Kandorna and Rajkot alone, no less than thirty towns and villages had been laid waste and were nothing but deserted ruins. Such villages as were not deserted were mortgaged to creditors, the lives of the villagers and their families being regarded as security for the payment of revenue. The chiefs themselves were poor, and in most cases it was quite impossible for them to produce their dues when tribute was demanded of them by the Marathas. In short, everything was chaos and confusion, and great misery was the lot of all those who were unable to exact a livelihood from others less fortunate even than themselves. Rapine and robbery were rampant throughout the country, and the hand of every man was against his neighbour.

Babaji Apaji, after marching through Jhalawad, proceeded with Colonel Walker to Morvi, where a condition of great disorder prevailed. After prolonged proceedings

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owing to the violent nature of a quarrel then existing between Morvi and Malia, settlements were finally arrived at, and the representatives of the British and Gaekwad's Governments went on towards Nawanager. Here the first opportunity presented itself of showing the chiefs of Kathiawad something of the methods which the British government intended to use in relation to them. It happened that when Jam Jasaji, on the death of Meraman Khawas in A.D. 1800, for the first time became the master of his State, he showed characteristics in comparison with which the methods of Meraman Khawas were far preferable. He began at once to oppress his people of every class, not even sparing his brother Sataji, and encroached upon his neighbours' territories whenever and wherever possible. As a result he was soon on the worst terms with all about him, and numbers of Jadeja kinsmen went into outlawry against him, leaving their villages depopulated, and attacking any part of Nawanager territory where a blow would be calculated to do most harm. Jadeja Sataji fled to Jodia, and his request for help against his tyrannical brother was among the most urgent of those received by the British.

An instance of Jam Jasaji's policy is afforded by his dealings with the Kathis. When Meraman Khawas had died, Wajsur Khachar of Jasdan journeyed to Nawanager to congratulate the Jam on his assumption of his rightful status. He presented his host with a Kathi mare, one of a breed of horses for which the Kathis had long been famous. The Jam, however, disapproved of the animal and returned it to Wajsur Khachar after he had gone back to Jasdan. The Kathi, being hurt, gave the mare away to a *charan*, on hearing which the Jadeja declared he had been insulted and prepared to march on Jasdan. Wajsur Khachar accordingly began to make raids into Halar, but the army from Nawanager proved too powerful for him and he fled to Limbdi, and thence to Bhavnagar.

PORBANDAR MAKRANIS REVOLT

The Jam burnt Jasdan and ravaged the surrounding country, and Wajsur Khachar on making peace was obliged to pay a heavy fine—receiving, however, from the Jam an undertaking that he should not be molested for eight years.

Shortly before Colonel Walker and the Maratha army under Babaji Apaji reached Nawanagar territory, the Makrani mercenaries of the Rana of Porbandar quarrelled with a body of Arab soldiers in the service of the same ruler. As a result of the dispute, the Makranis to the number of eight hundred men suddenly left Porbandar and seized the fort of Kandorna, some sixteen miles distant towards the North-East. At first they declared they would surrender the fort to the Rana when they had received arrears of pay which they claimed. The Rana, being anxious to avoid bloodshed, agreed to their demands, but the Makranis then refused to accept the money, and declared their intention of selling the fort to some other chief for as high a price as they could command. Accordingly in A.D. 1807 they approached Nawab Hamed Khan of Junagadh, as being the most likely purchaser, asking in return that they may be employed in his service. But the Nawab rejected the offer, and the mutineers now made the same proposal to Jam Jasaji. The Jam, contrary to all principle and custom, closed with the offer, and paying over a sum of three lakhs of *koris* to the Makranis, took possession of the fort.

Besides thus violating the unwritten laws of conduct as between chiefs at peace with each other, he transgressed the well-established rule to the effect that so long as the Gaekwad's tribute-collecting forces (known as the Mulk-giri army) remained in the peninsula, all acts of war as between chiefs must be suspended, and any armies abroad must retire to their forts, there to remain until the Marathas had left the province. The Jam was therefore called upon to surrender the fort, but he refused to comply with

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the order, and on the contrary made preparations for resistance. The Gaekwad's representative acted with great restraint, and while the Maratha army and the small British detachment accompanying it remained encamped at Gatu, he and Colonel Walker made every effort to settle the dispute peacefully. The disaffected Jadejas were prevented by their influence from attacking the Jam, which they were most anxious to do on seeing the strong support they imagined they were likely to receive. Rana Haloji promised that the whole of the money paid to the Makranis would be given back on the surrender of the fort, and even offered to cede an equivalent amount of territory elsewhere. But these pacific proposals were met by the Jam with a curt refusal; and as a result Babaji Apaji advanced with his forces to Jiwapur, eighteen miles from Nawanagar.

Here the terms were repeated to the Jam with greater force, but he still refused to entertain them in spite of the fact that he could not hope to prove successful should fighting ensue. He merely pleaded that he should be allowed to retain what he had acquired, and that if he had committed any offence it should be excused him. In the ordinary course of events, the Maratha army would now have laid waste the Jam's dominions and compelled him to surrender; but the Marathas had agreed to follow the English policy of doing as little harm as possible while collecting tribute, and this time another course was decided upon. Realizing it would create a very bad precedent to allow the Jam to retain his unlawfully procured gains with impunity, and actuated by the principles above mentioned, Colonel Walker and Babaji Apaji advanced against Kandorna, and in November A.D. 1807, after two hours' fighting, captured the place, handing it over to Rana Haloji, its rightful owner, on December 5 of the same year.

In view of the assistance rendered in recovering the

SETTLEMENT OF BHAVNAGAR

fort for him, the Rana was called upon to pay a *nazarana* of twenty thousand rupees, and a few days after the place had been handed over, a settlement of the tribute due to the Gaekwad from Porbandar was drawn up and signed by all parties. It may here be remembered that Rana Haloji had deposed his father, Rana Sultanji, in A.D. 1804 on account of the latter's inability to rule, and he acted as Manager of the State on behalf of his father until his death in A.D. 1812, predeceasing him by about one year.

The settlement of the Bhavnagar affairs was now undertaken, and here certain difficulties presented themselves, which were not finally overcome until A.D. 1816. After the Treaty of Bassein in A.D. 1802, when the Peshwa of Poona authorized the British Government to receive Wakhatsinhji Gohel's tribute, the rights of the latter in the districts of Dhandhuka, Gogha, and Ranpur became a subject of dispute. While the British collected the revenues, Wakhatsinhji was permitted to retain civil and criminal jurisdiction over the three districts, and this system of dual control was doomed to failure. Wakhatsinhji had cultivated terms of friendship with the British Government, and realized to the full the security in the undisputed possession of his territories and conquests he was thereby afforded. But he resented stoutly the interference in the affairs of the three places which the terms of the Treaty of Bassein rendered necessary. Nevertheless he met in a friendly spirit the wishes of Colonel Walker and the Gaekwad's Government and a settlement was satisfactorily concluded.

Colonel Walker now proceeded to the permanent settlement of the tribute due by Junagadh to the Marathas. Matters were complicated here by the personal feelings existing at the time between Raghunathji and the Dewan of Baroda, Vithal Rao. Raghunathji was represented to Colonel Walker as aspiring to overthrow the rule of the

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Nawab, and to take his place. Colonel Walker, however, disbelieved the story and supported Raghunathji, enquiring from the Nawab why the villages given to the family of Amarji in A.D. 1784 had been subsequently re-appropriated by him, although the Maratha general, Rupoji Sindhia, had been a party to the arrangements made on that occasion. Amarji's sons were living in Kutiana when Colonel Walker came to Kathiawad, and were still dispossessed of their property, while the Nawab's Dewan was one Rewashankar, who had accepted the post, and held it, through the influence and support of Babaji Apaji. After the settlement had been effected, a fine was imposed on the Nawab for the plundering of some British ships carrying wheat to Bombay by the pirates of Navi Bandar.

The Nawab offered no opposition to the scheme proposed to him of fixing the amount of tribute to be paid annually to the Marathas, and appreciated the advantages to be obtained from a peaceful settlement. The past few years of his rule had been a time of great disorder and much fighting, and he welcomed the abolition of the annual visitation of the Mulkgiri army, which inevitably brought distress and suffering in its train.

By virtue of their positions as the representatives of Moghal rule in Saurashtra, the Nawabs of Junagadh had long been accustomed to make expeditions to collect tribute on their own account. These collections had usually resulted in their obtaining a sum of between two and three lakhs of rupees on each occasion they were undertaken, and by these means the Nawab's troops were accustomed to be paid. This practice was now discontinued, and the Nawab undertook to send no more armies beyond his own territories. In return he was to receive a fixed sum annually, which the British and the Gaekwad's Government undertook should be discharged regularly.

The settlements of Rajkot, Gondal, Dhrol, and Nawa-

CONDITION OF THE KATHIS

nagar, together with those of the many smaller States comprising Halar were next undertaken, after which Colonel Walker moved into that central part of the peninsula inhabited by the Kathis, properly known as Kathiawad. As the Kathis had recently been severely punished both by Jam Jasaji and by Wakhatsinhji Gohel, and had called upon the British for aid, in no instance was an exhibition of force necessary in arranging the settlements regarding them, although they existed under so many distinct chiefs. They had suffered greatly of late years from both Rajputs and Marathas, and besides being glad of the protection now offered them, they, in common with all other people in Saurashtra, welcomed the prospect of the discontinuance of the Maratha Mulkgiri system.

Colonel Walker found the Kathis in a very poor state of prosperity. Originally a tribe of nomads, wandering abroad throughout the peninsula, and possessing no landed property they could rightly call their own, they had gradually obtained from various Rajput rulers grants of villages and lands as a price for not plundering the remaining portions of their territories. Other portions of the province they usurped, and in course of time they became settled in those parts which were called after them. Their chief towns were Than, Jasdan, Jetpur, and Chital, and the last named they received from small Rajput chieftains who stipulated only for the payment in return of a fixed sum for their subsistence. Chital eventually became quite a commercial centre, as the result of an incident whereby a trader set up a business in the town. A wealthy *bania* at Amreli had been maltreated and disgraced, and had fled to Chital, leaving his property behind him. He there agreed with the Kathis to give them one half of whatever they might recover for him, and they, only too glad of an excuse for raiding, undertook on these terms to get what they could. They raided Amreli and recovered all the merchant's goods and money,

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the sight of which made them covet the whole. They thereupon decided to kill the *bania* so that they might retain it, but one of their women reproached them for this contemplated act of treachery and succeeded in inducing them to abandon the idea. Instead, therefore, they handed over to the *bania* the whole of his goods, and as a result of their generosity and justice he decided to set up in trade at Chital. The chiefs of this place now determined to abandon their predatory habits, and they began to protect industry and merchants.

This new mode of life soon had its effect, and the Kathis of Chital quickly gained a reputation for justice, and for exertions in protecting their subjects in troublous times. Soon afterwards Nawab Bahadur Khan of Junagadh, approving of their reformation, presented them in about A.D. 1760 with the towns of Mendarda, Bilkha, and Jetpur, reserving only to himself the right of taking a fourth part of the revenue of each place. In A.D. 1807 Chital afforded an unique instance of reformed Kathis. The shareholders lived in harmony and unity, but the prosperity of the place had not entirely recovered from the effects of its fall to Wakhatsinhji of Bhavnagar in A.D. 1793. The marriage customs of the Kathis were, and are, entirely different from those of any other community inhabiting the peninsula. We have already seen that they were divided into two classes—"Sakhayats," or those with property (*i.e.* the descendants of the Wala Rajput Werawal who married originally the Kathi woman Rupde), and "Awaratyas," or those Kathis not so descended, and that the member of one of these classes must always marry into the other. All thus live on terms of complete equality.

Their laws of inheritance determine that all descendants receive an equal share of the property of a dead man, with perhaps a slight addition known as "*Motap*" in the case of the eldest son. Thus all property quickly became split

JAFRABAD'S UNUSUAL POSITION

up into small shares, and the result of these divisions is that in many cases the descendants of a once wealthy chief have become small holders of little or no importance. In former days they lived almost entirely by plunder, and frankly called themselves thieves. But the results of Colonel Walker's settlement soon manifested itself, and the Kathis finally settled down to a regular and orderly existence. The various tributes due by the chiefs of Saurashtra had now been completed, and in only two cases was it found that tribute of no kind was paid. The whole of Diu now belonged to the Portugese, who were quite independent, and in like manner Jafrabad, the port of Babriawad, some twenty miles East of Diu on the South coast, owed nothing either to the Marathas or to the Nawab of Junagadh.

Jafrabad—or more properly Muzafarabad, from the name of its founder, Muzafar Shah, in A.D. 1575—is a seaport town surrounded by a strong wall belonging to the Nawab of Janjira, and famous for the fish known as "Bombay Duck," which are annually caught in great numbers off its coast. In A.D. 1807 Colonel Walker was unable to ascertain how the fort and district came to be independent. It is owned by Sidis, or Abyssinians, from whom the present Nawab of Janjira is descended, and who had established themselves in India some time during the fifteenth century. Mahomedan pirates used the place as a stronghold until conquered by Sidi Hilal of Surat, who levied on the pirates a heavy fine, which they proved unable to pay. They therefore sold Jafrabad to the Sidi, who in his turn in A.D. 1762 sold the place to the Sidi Nawab of Janjira, on account of the unsettled condition of affairs in Saurashtra. Sidi Hilal became a general in the Nawab's service and remained at Jafrabad. The Sidis became admirals of the Moghal fleet, and on the dissolution of the Mahomedan authority in Gujarat, themselves took to piracy, for which purpose Jafrabad formed a

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convenient base. By their courage and activity they had succeeded in maintaining their independence and paid tribute to none.

The immediate result of Colonel Walker's settlement was that Kathiawad became blessed with peace such as the peninsula had not enjoyed for very many years. The most important feature was the cessation of the annual march throughout the province of the Maratha Mulkgiri army. This force, coming each year, played more havoc than a flight of locusts would have done. Its path was marked by spoliation and desolation, and it was a fixed principle with the officer in command to get as much money as possible out of the chiefs and people. Inversely the chiefs endeavoured to pay as little as possible, and consequently no fixed standard of collection was set, and the amount collected varied according to the power and ability of the parties. As a result no remission was ever allowed, but arrears were perforce permitted to accumulate, although no commander was ever content with less than his predecessor of the previous year had collected. But revenue failed to increase, largely owing to the presence of the collecting army itself, and arrears mounted up to great proportions which most of the chiefs could never hope to satisfy even had they wished. The Maratha system of domination had proved a failure.

Colonel Walker remained in Kathiawad until A.D. 1809, when he left the province, but it was not until after treaties made in A.D. 1817 and A.D. 1820 that the British Government became the paramount power in the peninsula, and until A.D. 1822 it was governed by an officer of the Gaekwad of Baroda, whose headquarters were at Amreli. The consent of the Peshwa of Poona to the permanent settlement had not been asked, and after the lease of his rights, which he had made to the Gaekwad, had expired, he refused to agree to its terms. By the treaty of A.D. 1817, however, he ceded all his rights in

TRIBUTE TROUBLES ENDED

Kathiawad to the British Government, while in A.D. 1820 the Gaekwad agreed not to make any demands on the province except through the British. The last vestige of any independent authority disappeared two years later, when the Nawab of Junagadh resigned into the hands of the British the responsibility for collection of the tribute due to him, surrendering one-quarter of the whole amount to meet the expenses so incurred.

CHAPTER XV

(A.D. 1808–1822)

WHILE Colonel Walker was still in Kathiawad, disturbances broke out in Porbandar, where Prathiraj, the son of Rana Haloji, rebelled against his father and seized the fort at Chhaya. All the efforts to dislodge him failed, and finally the Rana asked aid from the British. A force was sent to co-operate with him, and after a siege lasting for two hours the fort of Chhaya fell and Prathiraj surrendered, after having been wounded. His grandmother, who was with him in the fort, when captured was found to be wearing golden anklets, and the victors, greedy for spoil, cruelly cut off her feet to procure them. Porbandar was now placed under British protection and a detachment of one hundred men was stationed in the fort for the protection of the Rana. The Rana ceded one-half of the revenue of the port to the British, in return for which they advanced him fifty thousand rupees, so that he might pay off a portion of his debt to the Gaekwad's Government.

Nawab Hamed Khan of Junagadh died in A.D. 1811, and was succeeded by his son, Bahadur Khan, who was eighteen years of age and had been brought up at Patan, whither, with his mother, he had been sent some years before on account of a supposed attempt having been made by her to set fire to the Nawab's palace at Junagadh. Raghunathji was at this time at Kutiana, where he had been living for the past seven years, and fearing so young and inexperienced a Nawab might lead the State into trouble at a particularly critical time, the principal men

JAM JASAJI DEFEATED

of Junagadh besought Raghunathji once again to take up the reins of office, which he consented to do, and he once more became Dewan.

Although the capture of Kandorna fort by Colonel Walker had humbled Jam Jasaji of Nawanagar and had lowered his prestige in the eyes of the whole of Saurashtra, he still refused to act reasonably. Both Jadeja Sataji, his brother, and the Rao of Kachh, could get no satisfaction of their just claims against him, and sought help from the British and the Gaekwad. Matters came to a head when one of the Jam's Arabs shot a British officer at Gop and then fled to Modpur. A demand was made for his surrender, but the Jam refused to deliver up the murderer. Accordingly the combined armies under Captain Carnac and Fatehsinha Rao Gaekwad marched against Nawanagar. For two days artillery bombarded the fort, with such effect that the Rajputs gave way and wished to surrender. The Jam was now obliged to sue for peace, and on February 23, 1812, he agreed to surrender the murderer, to destroy Modpur fort, to settle the claims of Kachh, to provide maintenance for his brother Sataji by handing over to him thirteen villages, to pay to the Gaekwad succession *nazarana* of twenty-five thousand rupees, and to perform certain other clauses of minor importance.

As soon as the operations against Jam Jasaji were concluded, the allied forces marched towards Junagadh and encamped at Lalwad, a distance of about eight miles from the town. Captain Carnac and Fatehsinha Rao Gaekwad now demanded from the young Nawab the *nazarana* due on his succeeding his father. The Nawab and Dewan Raghunathji contemplated resisting, and made preparations for defence, but peaceful measures ultimately prevailed, and Raghunathji accompanied the British and the Gaekwad's representatives to Amreli, there to arrange the matter in question. The enemies of the Dewan now

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persuaded the Nawab that he was about to make some agreement to the prejudice of the State, and the Nawab accordingly wrote to Amreli asking for the negotiations to be cancelled and stating that he would agree to whatever were necessary. Raghunathji, who had pledged himself to hand over some villages, now returned to Junagadh, where he learnt that land would on no account be handed over, but there would be no objection on the part of the Nawab to paying *nazarana* in cash. Raghunathji, accordingly, seeing his position in the matter to be impossible, resigned the Dewanship and retired to Kutiana.

No sooner was the Nawab's able minister out of power, when Dewan Vithal Rao of Baroda, by means of making large bribes in well-considered quarters, procured from the young Nawab a deed consigning the districts of Amreli and Kodinar to the Gaekwad. This obtained, Amreli fort was strongly rebuilt, and both places became a very fruitful source of revenue to the Baroda State.

In the following year, A.D. 1813, Fateh Mahomed from Kachh made his final descent upon Halar. Collecting a large army he crossed the Rann, and on hearing news of his arrival Jam Jasaji became seriously perturbed. He called on Raghunathji for aid, who despatched his brother Ranchodji with three hundred men and one gun to Nawanagar. Fateh Mahomed had not yet penetrated far into the peninsula, and the Nawanagar army took up a position at Hadiana under the command of Gajsinhji Jhala and Gokal Khawas. The two latter did not work in agreement with Ranchodji, and the latter on his own account attacked the army of the Rao by night. His astonishment was great when a flag of truce was displayed by Sundarji Shavji, the British native Agent, who had been to Kachh to buy horses, and who now produced a letter from Captain Carnac enjoining the cessation of hostilities. A truce for three days was concluded, and Fateh Mahomed agreed meanwhile to restore everything

PLAQUE AND FAMINE

plundered and to pay compensation for everything burnt. But he proved faithless to his word, and before the three days had elapsed fled with his army and crossed the Rann, hotly pursued by the Nawanagar forces, who succeeded in capturing the whole of his baggage. The next day a force of British and the Gaekwad's troops arrived under Colonel Crutchley, who crossed the Rann and pursued the Kachh army as far as Kotara, after which they returned. Fateh Mahomed died shortly afterwards, and in the following year Jam Jasaji also died, being succeeded in Nawanagar by his brother Sataji, who had for some time been living under the protection of the British and the Gaekwad at Amreli.

Kathiawad was devastated by famine through want of rain in A.D. 1813, which disaster was put down to a comet being seen for nearly four months earlier in the year ; while in A.D. 1814 an epidemic of some unknown nature attacked the province, of which many people died. The chroniclers of the time describe this mysterious malady as a pestilence, but there can be little doubt that plague, possibly for the first time, made its appearance within the peninsula.

Intrigue now began to play a large part in guiding the affairs of Kathiawad, and two rival parties appear to have come into existence, the one supporting Dewan Raghunathji, and the other favouring his enemy, Dewan Vithal Rao of Baroda. Sundarji Shavji, the British native Agent, and an influential person under the conditions then pervading the province, was a partisan of Dewan Vithal Rao. Feeling between the two parties ran high, each trying hard to effect the downfall of the other. Thus it happened that in A.D. 1815 an officer in the employ of Nawab Bahadur Khan, by name Jamadar Mukhasam, who was an adherent of Dewan Vithal Rao, entered one day the Rang Mahal palace at Junagadh, and attempted to lay violent hands on the Nawab. Before any harm

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could be done, however, Jamadars Salim and Hasan, two attendants who happened to be present, interposed, and Umar Mukhasam was driven out of the palace, fortunate to escape with his life. He retired to his house, where he took up an attitude of threatening defiance. The Nawab now began to fear that he might be joined by other disaffected persons, and so called upon Raghunathji for aid. Shortly afterwards Ranchodji, the latter's brother, was sent to Captain Ballantyne to obtain aid from the British, and a force under Colonel Aston at once marched to Junagadh.

Seeing the British troops and two guns preparing to storm his house, Umar Mukhasam surrendered, and was expelled from Junagadh with ignominy. Captain Ballantyne now negotiated with the Nawab, with the result that the villages of Timbdi and Piplia were handed over to the Jamadar, together with a large sum of money, in payment of debts due to him. The Nawab also consented to reappoint Raghunathji as Dewan, and to make the appointment an hereditary one for the members of Dewan Amarji's family. This was in A.D. 1816, and in the following year the Nawab, out of gratitude for the help given in his difficulties with Umar Mukhasam, agreed to waive for ever any right to tribute from Dhandhuka, Ranpur, and Gogha, which factor tended in a great measure to lessen the friction and difficulty the administration of these three districts occasioned. The rights of civil and criminal jurisdiction over them, which had been allowed to remain with Wakhatsinhji of Bhavnagar after the Treaty of Bassein in A.D. 1802, had recently been resumed by the British Government under somewhat exceptional circumstances.

During the famine of A.D. 1814 some low-caste people in Bhavnagar territory killed and ate a cow, a grave offence in the eyes of a Hindu. Wakhatsinhji heard of this circumstance, and immediately had the offenders

DEATH OF WAKHATSINHJI GOHEL

imprisoned—subsequently, on the advice of his Ministers, causing them to be put to death. The facts of the case became known to the British Government, who considered that Wakhatsinhji acted contrary to all principles of morality in considering that for the death of a cow several men should suffer the heaviest penalty it is possible to inflict, especially since the time was one of acute famine, when starvation was causing many deaths throughout the province. They therefore decided that an example should be made, with the result shown above. Wakhatsinhji never recovered from the blow occasioned by this loss of power, and being an old man it doubtless had the effect of hastening his end. He died in the same year, at the age of sixty-eight. He was succeeded in Bhavnagar by his son Wajesinhji, who had had already four years' experience in the administration of the State, which had been virtually entrusted to him in A.D. 1812.

The death of Wakhatsinhji Gohel removed from Kathiawad one of the most famous men that ancient country has produced. Of an active and ambitious nature, combined with prudence and sagacity, he began almost from the day he assumed the administration of his State to make himself as powerful as possible. He rightly discerned that the Kathiawad of those times was no place for any but the strong. He saw around him many evidences of the misfortunes of the weak at the hands of the more powerful, and he determined that the territories to which he had succeeded should not be allowed to diminish in size and that he would make himself sufficiently strong to protect and hold them against aggressors. The signs of the times were not lost on him, and he was not slow to cultivate friendship with the British, whom he aided greatly by his efforts in putting down piracy, the common enemy of both. His ambitions often overruled his better nature, and considerations of honour and justice were often forced to take a secondary place before self-

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

interest and the ensuring of success to his schemes. Having engaged in any undertaking, he pursued it with vigour, and persevered in it to the end, never permitting himself to be shaken from his resolve. At the same time, while allowing nothing to stand in his way, he was not over-scrupulous in his employment of force, intrigue, or artifice to accomplish his ends. He was feared and respected by all around him, and by his death the Bhavnagar State lost a strong ruler, who had raised it in status and importance until it occupied a commanding position in Kathiawad affairs.

When Jam Sataji succeeded his brother in Nawanagar, he was incapable of ruling on account of his indulgence in opium, and Jam Jasaji had arranged that after his death one Jagjiwan Devji should manage the affairs of the State. This plan, however, did not quite suit Rani Achhuba, widow of Jam Jasaji, and she induced Jagjiwan Devji's rival, named Motiram Buch, to stir up rebellion. This man succeeded in his designs, and the Arab soldiers from Maskat, who garrisoned the forts of Kandorna and Pardhari, revolted and created much devastation. Jagjiwan now appealed to the British and the Gaekwad's Government for aid, and on the Jam agreeing to pay the expenses of the expedition, a force of about one thousand men proceeded against Kandorna. The Arabs issued from the fort to meet their enemies in the open hand to hand, but they were no match for disciplined troops and were driven back with loss and in confusion. The fort surrendered, as also did Pardhari, which place the army next attacked. The Arabs fled to Jodia and the two places were handed over to the Jam.

At Jodia the Arabs sought and obtained protection from Sangram Khawas ; and the Jam, who cherished a grudge against this man, asked the British to march against him for thus sheltering the Arabs. A force under Colonel East was therefore detached to proceed against

A BRITISH AGENCY AT RAJKOT

Jodia, at which place it arrived about the middle of the rainy season. On seeing the force arrayed against him, Sangram Khawas lost heart and came out pale and trembling to ask for quarter. He surrendered the fort with all its artillery and ammunition, and also his own baggage. He himself was escorted to Morvi, and afterwards arrangements were made whereby he was to receive Amran for his maintenance. Sundarji Shavji, the British Agent, was then given Balambha and Jodia districts in farm for eight years, agreeing to pay to the British and the Gaekwad the instalments of the sum promised by the Jam for the aid they had recently given him.

Sundarji Shavji now aspired to the Dewanship of Junagadh, and by way of preparing a path for himself, succeeded in placing Dewan Raghunathji in an unfavourable light before the Nawab. He promised that were he himself Dewan, he would recover Upleta and Dhoraji for Junagadh, and also Mangrol and Wadasinor (Balasinor) in Gujarat, which was in the possession of a branch of the Babi family. The British Government supported Sundarji, and eventually he succeeded in being appointed Dewan in A.D. 1818, much to the disgust of Raghunathji, whose whole-hearted enmity he thus earned. But Raghunathji was permitted little time for indulging in counter-intrigue, for in the following year he died.

On June 16, A.D. 1819, Kathiawad experienced a most severe earthquake, which caused much alarm. Porbandar, Morvi, and Amran suffered extensively, many houses being destroyed and many deaths thereby occurring.

Captain Barnewall was appointed to be the first Political Agent sent to Kathiawad to represent the British Government on the establishment of an Agency at Rajkot in A.D. 1820, following on the Gaekwad of Baroda's agreement that year to make no demands on the Kathiawad chiefs except through the British. Colonel Walker's

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settlement now bore fruit, and the British assumed the general administration of the province, while they undertook to collect and pay annually the sums due from the tribute-paying chiefs to the Marathas. Thus passed away the last vestige of direct Maratha sway over the peninsula, although an officer of the Gaekwad's Government resided at Amreli in nominal charge of the province for two years longer.

On the death of Jam Sataji of Nawanagar in A.D. 1820 he had no heir and was succeeded by Jam Ranmalji, son of Jadeja Jasaji of Bhanwad and adopted son of Jam Jasaji. But Bai Achhuba instigated one Jamadar Fakir Mahomed to attempt what Meraman Khawas had so successfully accomplished, and to relegate the Jam to the background, himself carrying on the administration. The young Jam, however, strongly resented this procedure, and expelled Fakir Mahomed from Nawanagar, making it quite clear to all that he intended to administer his State without interference. He was an intrepid hunter, and not at all a man to be trifled with.

The Kathis now began again to tire of the, to them, strange and peaceful existence which they had enjoyed since Colonel Walker entered the peninsula in A.D. 1807, and to appease their hunger for fighting they attacked Bhavnagar territory. The death of Wakhatsinhji in A.D. 1816 had removed the strong hand they feared, and in A.D. 1820 the Khuman Kathis of Kundla, under Hada Khuman, burnt Babariadhar and Barbatana, and plundered Mitiala and Nesri. The commander of the Bhavnagar troops at Kundla, hearing of their exploit, and being joined by detachments from Amreli and Lathi, marched against the Kathis, who, however, succeeded in evading him and in reaching the refuge of the Gir Forest. Ghela Khuman, the son of Hada Khuman, was sufficiently unfortunate to get cut off, and sought shelter at Amba. The Lathi detachment pursued him here, and in the fight

COMBINED ACTION AGAINST KATHIS

which ensued he was shot. For this reason the Kathis will not to this day drink water in Lathi territory.

On hearing the news of the death of his son, Hada Khuman planned an attack on Wanda, a village in the Kundla district. In A.D. 1821 the Kathis raided Wanda, but while endeavouring to reach the Gir Forest with their plunder, they were overtaken near Dedan by a force from Kundla under the command of Kala Bhati, and being defeated in the fight which ensued, abandoned their booty and sought refuge in flight. But Mansur Khuman, son of Jogidas Khuman, was killed by a musket-ball, and his brother Lakha was wounded, and smarting at their reverse and losses, they returned to their depredations in Bhavnagar territory with greater obstinacy and fury than before. The country became so disturbed, that in A.D. 1822 the Political Agent, Captain Barnewall, marched to Amreli with a force and called upon Wajesinhji Gohel and all other neighbouring chiefs to meet him. He earnestly asked for the co-operation of all in hunting out and exterminating the outlaws—known generally as “Baharwatia,” from the two words *Bahar*, outside, and *wat*, a road, indicating action of an improper nature—and offered all assistance in his power to enable them to preserve peace and punish the offenders.

Wajesinhji thereupon proceeded to Kundla, to make plans from there as to the line of action to be taken by him for rounding up the aggressors, and while there he discovered that the Khumans were being aided and abetted by the Wala Kathis of Chital and Jetpur. On learning this fact, he communicated it to Captain Barnewall, who called the Wala leaders to his presence and demanded to know the truth of the accusation. They strenuously denied that they were at all concerned in the raids of the Khumans, but were forced to give security against aiding them in the future.

Scarcely had these measures been undertaken, when

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the Khumans raided Junwadar, a Bhavnagar village, and carried away a number of cattle. They were at once pursued, and eventually were found to have taken refuge in the villages of Gugarala and Walardi, belonging to the Jetpur Kathis. This information was despatched to Wajesinhji, who immediately sent a strong force from Kundla to effect their capture. At daybreak next day the force had covered the thirty-six miles which lay between Kundla and Walardi, and surprising the village, succeeded in capturing Jogidas Khuman's two sons, Harsur and Golan, and his daughter, Kamribai. The force at once after this marched to Gugarala, but they were too late, and when they arrived there it was found that all the Kathis had left the village excepting Hada Khuman, who refused to surrender. He was thereupon killed and his head sent to Wajesinhji, who at once sent information to Captain Barnewall of the success of his troops and of the detention of his two important prisoners at Kundla. Proof of complicity on the part of the Jetpur Kathis was now not wanting, and Captain Barnewall sent for Mulu Wala and the other shareholders and put them in prison, placing Jetpur under attachment and appointing Shewakram Bhawanishankar to administer it. Shortly afterwards the imprisoned Kathis asked to be released, and Captain Barnewall agreed to do so on the understanding that they captured and handed over to Wajesinhji Gohel all the Khumans who still remained in outlawry. Wikamshi Wala of Jetpur, Chela Khachar of Jasdan, Bhan Khachar of Bhadli, Harsur Wala of Bagasra, and Danta Kotila of Dedan, with one or two more, were retained as hostages, and the rest on being set free proceeded against the Khumans. After being engaged in pursuing the fugitives for a short time they captured Jogidas Khuman and six of his relations, all of whom were ringleaders in the outlawry. These were all handed over to Captain Barnewall and lodged by him in prison.

KOLIS PLUNDER DHRANGADHRA

Eventually they were all—with the exception of two who had died meanwhile in jail—handed over to the Jetpur chiefs' hostages, who took them to Bhavnagar in A.D. 1824. Negotiations were now opened with Wajesinhji, but no satisfactory arrangement could be arrived at between the parties, and finally the hostages took the captured Khumans with them and returned to their villages.

The result of this hesitation and vacillation on the part of Wajesinhji was that at the end of the year the Kathis again went into outlawry and attacked Jesar, a Bhavnagar village. The troops at Mahuva and Kundla at once started off in pursuit of the marauders and came up with them at Mitiala, where Champa Khuman was killed. But the rest escaped to the Gir Forest, and the Bhavnagar troops were obliged to return.

Meanwhile fighting had been going on in the North of the peninsula, the Kolis from Kachh having crossed the Rann in A.D. 1821 and invaded and plundered the Northern part of Dhrangadhra. Amarsinhji Jhala appealed to the British, and asked for compensation from the Rao of Kachh. Captain McMurdo, of the 7th Bombay Infantry, was sent with a detachment of troops to exact compensation, as the Rao's control over the Kolis was little more than nominal. Finally the Rao himself was obliged to pay about two lakhs of rupees to cover the damage done by his lawless subjects. In A.D. 1821 also part of the district of Jhinjhuvada, which had been conquered by Amarsinhji seven years before, was taken out of Kathiawad and has since formed a part of the British Collectorate of Ahmadabad. Inability to pay arrears of tribute had resulted in A.D. 1816 in its administration being taken over by the Gaekwad's Government, and it did not again revert to the Dhangadhra State.

While the Khuman Kathis were occupying the attention of Bhavnagar, an outrage on a British officer was

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committed in A.D. 1822 by a Wala Kathi outlaw in the Gir Forest named Bawa Raning. Captain Grant, an officer of the Indian Navy, had been appointed in A.D. 1813 to the command of a naval force that was formed by the Gaekwad of Baroda for the suppression of pirates on the coasts of Kathiawad and Kachh. In A.D. 1820 this naval force was abolished, as the piracy had been so reduced that it was not considered necessary to maintain it any longer, and Captain Grant was then directed to proceed to Amreli and there hand over the charge of the fleet to the Gaekwad's representative. He landed at Diu, and was proceeding inland with a small escort when Bawa Wala with thirty-five other Kathis attacked him. Being armed only with a riding-whip he was unable to make any effectual resistance, and after a sowar had been killed and a clerk severely wounded, he was captured. Bawa Wala now came up, and Captain Grant was ordered to dismount. After a short discussion he was told to mount again, and the whole band galloped with him into the forest, where he was kept a prisoner for two and a half months. He was guarded day and night, and was permitted no chance of escaping. The rainy season was at its height, but except on one or two occasions when shelter was obtained in a friendly village the whole time was spent in the open.

Captain Grant's pitiable case came to the ears of the Political Agent, who at once took steps through the Nawab of Junagadh to effect his release. It appeared that Bawa Wala had been forcibly dispossessed of his lands by another Kathi more powerful than he, and had become a "Baharwatia" in consequence. The Nawab induced the other Kathi to restore his lands to Bawa Wala, who released Captain Grant on thus obtaining his object. When found, he was wandering in a field at night in a state of delirium, covered with vermin, and severely ill with ague and fever caused by exposure and fatigue. Bawa

LIFE AMONG THE OUTLAWS

Wala was shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1824, killed in a fight at Visawadar with another Kathi chief named Harsur Wala, with whom he had long been at enmity, when he became a popular hero with the Kathi bards.

Captain Grant's captivity among the " Baharwatias " brought to light the conditions under which they lived. They held life very cheaply, and while with the inhabitants of friendly villages they behaved with propriety, with those of villages not well disposed towards them they carried on an intermittent warfare. One of their customs was to ride up unexpectedly to the gates of such villages and to cut off with a stroke of the sword the heads of children at play, riding away before they could be overtaken. Their chief boast was concerning the number of men they had killed, and their practice was to cut off the heads of their victims so as to make quite certain that life was extinct. For food they ate such grains as they could procure, and milk when they could get it. At night each man slept with the halter of his horse tied to his arm, and on the approach of danger a tug from the horse awoke his master, who was instantly ready for flight or fighting. When they had captured a rich traveller, their method of extracting ransom-money was to tie him by his legs to a beam across a well, with his head touching the water, and then to saw at the securing rope until the demand was agreed to. The victim was taken up, and one of their number was sent to an agent on whom a bill for the ransom-money was made out. Until this money had been obtained the unfortunate prisoner was not allowed to depart.

In A.D. 1822 Sundarji Shavji died, and the Nawab expelled his son from Junagadh on account of his dissatisfaction at the promised recovery of Dhoraji, Upleta, and Wadasinor not having been effected.

The peaceful condition of affairs now generally prevalent left the undisciplined soldiery of the States with little

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occupation, and those of Junagadh sought to add interest to their existence by undertaking minor plundering expeditions against towns and villages of neighbouring chiefs. Finally these incursions became so troublesome that in A.D. 1824 troops were despatched to Junagadh under Captain Wilson, to enforce payment of compensation to the injured States and to obtain assurances that for the future such forays would be prevented. The force remained encamped near Junagadh for more than two months, until finally the Nawab agreed to the terms imposed upon him.

CHAPTER XVI

(A.D. 1822–1869)

THE Kathi marauders of Gohelwad never knew when they were beaten, and after each reverse they retired to the inaccessible fastnesses of the Gir Forest, issuing forth on some marauding expedition when the opportunity for doing so with impunity presented itself. In A.D. 1825 a famine of unusual severity occurred all over the peninsula, the cattle in particular suffering from the want of fodder. As a result the Kathi outlaws of the Gir were compelled to undertake a foraging expedition, and in the following year fell upon the villages of Dharuka and Piprali, in Bhavnagar territory, and drove away all the cattle they could find. Wajesinhji, on hearing of this raid, at once set out from Sihor in pursuit, and at the village of Kanad overtook the Khumans, who were obliged to flee for their lives, leaving the stolen cattle behind them. Kandhoji Gohel of Palitana was anxious to give shelter to the fugitives, but Wajesinhji followed them up so closely that he was unable to do so, and the Kathis made for the Gir.

Captain Barnewall promised compensation to Wajesinhji for his losses from the Kathi hostages, and the Bhavnagar chief saw no reason under the circumstances for coming to some arrangement with the Kathis on other than his own terms. Jogidas Khuman now determined to plunder Bhavnagar town, and proceeded to Palitana, where he collected a large force consisting mainly of outlaws against the Junagadh and Bhavnagar States,

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among whom were Oghad Wala and Matra Wala of Halaria. Kandhoji Gohel gave substantial aid both in men and supplies. When a sufficient force had been collected, he marched on Nagdhaniba village, which he burnt. But dismissing his first intention, he now turned back and contented himself with plundering all the villages in his path, and with destroying all the crops. Wajesinhji at once despatched mounted troops to Palitana to cut off the Kathis should they endeavour to regain that place, while with a force of four hundred men he followed himself the Kathi raiders, coming up with them near Timana, on the bank of the Shatrunji River. Here a pitched battle took place in which the Kathis were worsted, but following their usual tactics the survivors split up and made their way to the Gir, there to prepare for their next foray.

Jogidas Khuman did not remain long idle in the forest, and after a lapse of some months he again issued forth with his band and fell upon Haliad. Again a force was despatched from Sihor to endeavour to effect his capture, but once more without success. The Bhavnagar troops overtook the Kathis near Samadhiala, but did not even succeed in preventing them from carrying off their plunder to the Gir. Later, in A.D. 1827, the Khumans once more raided Bhavnagar territory, encouraged by the success of their previous enterprise earlier in the year. They plundered Dihor and defeated the garrison stationed there, but they were afterwards beaten by troops sent from Tana, who came up with them and drove them to seek shelter in Palitana after a hard-fought fight.

These successive raids had proved very trying for Wajesinhji, who now began to wish sincerely for peace. He therefore sent emissaries to the Kathis to say that he would once more discuss terms with them if they came to Bhavnagar, which proposal they agreed to. After the lapse of nearly a year spent in negotiations, terms of

SADUL KHASIA, OUTLAW

peace were drawn up in A.D. 1829 whereby the Kathis agreed to surrender shares in the villages of Nesri, Jira, Vijoipuri, Bhamodra, Mitiala, Ambaldi, and Dolti by way of compensation for the damage they had done. These terms were submitted to the Government of Bombay by Mr. Blane, who had succeeded Captain Barnewall as Political Agent in the previous year, and were approved.

But even now peace was not permanently assured. After a lapse of seven years Sadul Khasia of Monpur, whose principal associates were outlaws and highway robbers, attacked the Shrawak temples on the Shatrunjaya Hill at Palitana and carried off a certain amount of plunder. The Palitana State and the Shrawak community complained to the British Agency, and asked that Bhavnagar should be obliged either to pay compensation or to hand over the offenders, since they were subject to Wajesinhji. The Political Agent agreed this was fair, and requested the Bhavnagar State to comply with one or other of its terms. To enforce the demand, he levied a *mohsal*, or fine, on the State, upon which Wajesinhji fined Sadul Khasia. Champraj Wala of Charkha, who was "out" against the Gaekwad's Amreli Mahal, happened at the time to be staying with Sadul Khasia, and incited his host to imitate himself and never to submit to oppression of this nature. As a further inducement he held out the hope of recovering Mahuva, should his tactics prove successful.

Sadul Khasia, lured by the hope of prospective gain, and tempted by the idea of leading an outlaw's life, fell in with the plan with alacrity, and joined his friend with a band of his men. Their first exploit was to steal a number of horses belonging to Wajesinhji at Talaja, after killing those who were looking after the animals. They then attempted to gain the shelter of the Gir Forest, and on their way happened to pass by the village of Jhabal. It happened that Oghad and Wajsur Khuman of Bhamo-

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dra, who had recently made peace with Bhavnagar, were paying a visit to Jhabal at the time, and after Sadul Khasia had arrived with his booty, a swift messenger was sent with the news to Kundla. The Khumans of Kundla, ever ready for fighting no matter who the enemy might be, prepared at once to pursue the outlaws, and were joined by the Kundla garrison.

Eventually Sadul Khasia was surrounded on the Nandivelo Hill in the South-East of the Gir, but he managed to escape in the confusion that ensued, though with the loss of his plundered horses. As he still remained at large, and none believed he would remain quietly in the forest for long, Wajesinhji collected troops to take against him as soon as he would appear in the open. But the outlaw completely outwitted his pursuers, and suddenly leaving the shelter of the Gir burnt the village of Konjli near Mahuva, and with such plunder as he could collect returned to his hiding-place. Wajesinhji now decided to destroy Monpur, Sadul Khasia's home under ordinary conditions, and a large army was placed under two of his sons, Bhavsinhji and Narsinhji. They proceeded to Monpur, where they destroyed the outlaw's house and the fort, and after leaving parties of men at various places on the road in case of attack, returned to Bhavnagar.

Sadul Khasia was not slow to take revenge for the destruction of his ancestral home, and in A.D. 1838 he emerged and plundered Depla village, returning in safety to the Gir with his booty. Not long afterwards he repeated this performance in an attack upon Waral. As this village was set apart for the maintenance of Wajesinhji's eldest son, Bhavsinhji, Sadul Khasia intended to burn it to the ground. But he found himself, on account of losses sustained in capturing the village, unable to carry out his intention, though he succeeded in doing a good deal of damage and in retiring to his retreat in the forest in safety.

OUTLAWRY NOW DANGEROUS

Wajesinhji now lodged a complaint with the Political Agent to the effect that when in the Gir, Sadul Khasia obtained shelter from the Junagadh State. The charge was denied, but in A.D. 1840 the outlaw was captured in a Koli's house at Motha, a village in the Una district under Junagadh, whence he was taken to Bhavnagar. He was then surrendered to the Political Agent, who tried him and sentenced him to ten years' rigorous imprisonment, which he was sent to undergo at the Ahmadabad jail. The Bhavnagar State resumed all his possessions excepting the villages of Jambura and Chura, from which his two sons were to be maintained, and it was decided that Monpur should be handed back to him for the remainder of his life, should he survive his imprisonment. The stout-hearted outlaw did survive, and afterwards returned to Monpur to pass his remaining years in peace.

Champraj Wala, who had shot an officer of the 15th Bombay Infantry, was also captured in A.D. 1837, and suffered the penalty for his misdeeds, being sentenced to imprisonment for life. Champraj Wala was a noted opium-eater, and while in prison had to be kept alive by the administration of large doses of the drug, it being found necessary to increase the doses until each totalled seventy grains. His habitual dose when free had been about the size of a large pigeon's egg !

Sadul Khasia was the last of the picturesque outlaws who haunted the Gir Forest. The attractions of becoming " Baharwadia " had greatly diminished since the establishment of the British authority within the peninsula, and the prospect of a long period spent in prison when captured compared too unfavourably with the prospect of fighting and wealth in former times to make the " recreation " one worthy of pursuit. Still Sadul Khasia was by no means the last outlaw, but he was the last of the fearless freebooters who was able to range far and wide before the establishment of police and other hindrances

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rendered the amusement of outlawry impossible of pursuit for any appreciable length of time.

Peaceful conditions had now become fairly firmly established throughout the peninsula, and the calm was only occasionally broken by misguided or dissatisfied men who went into outlawry fired by the exploits of Bawa Raning and Sadul Khasia. But their misused freedom was short-lived, for the States and altered conditions made a long revolt against authority an impossibility. These outlaws may be divided into three classes : firstly, Kathis and others, who used the Gir Forest as a place of refuge ; secondly, Waghers of Okhamandal, who found the Barda Hill convenient to hide in ; and thirdly, the ever troublesome Mianas of Malia. The first-named were finally disposed of after the capture of Sadul Khasia, and it was the other two classes who at different times subsequently endeavoured to pursue their tactics.

The Waghers of Okhamandal had always been a race of robbers, and their depredations by sea and the punishment they received at various times have before been referred to. With the abolition of piracy, those whose instincts led them to hanker after the mode of life of their ancestors were obliged to become highwaymen. Their bravery had always been unquestioned, and they were filled with that kind of honour which led Sewa Wadhel, Raja of Jagat, to sacrifice his life in defence of his guest, Muzafar Shah, when in A.D. 1592 that unfortunate man was being hunted by the army sent to capture him under Nauroz Khan. It was in A.D. 1802 that English ships first attacked their fortress on Shankhodhar Island, but though troops were landed and an assault was made by land, they were unable to enter the fort and were obliged to content themselves with burning all the pirates' ships along the Okhamandal coast. Four years later English troops were more successful in an attack on Positra, and that fort was conquered by Colonel Walker and destroyed.

THE WAGHER OUTLAWS

In A.D. 1820 the Wagthers rose and expelled the English officer who had two years previously been posted at Dwarka to assist the Gaekwad of Baroda's representative in keeping order. This outrage could not go unpunished, and a few months afterwards a powerful British force operating against the Wagthers stormed Dwarka. In the fighting many of the leading Wagthers were killed, including Mulu Manik and about two hundred and fifty of his tribe. A garrison was left in Dwarka, but soon afterwards it was removed, and the Okha district handed over to the Gaekwad of Baroda, who garrisoned the country with a force of two hundred Arabs under a Baroda State official.

Widha Manik, one of the Dwarka Wagthers, joined by a Rabari named Rudo, went into outlawry in A.D. 1847, and on February 2 of the following year shot Lieutenant George Loch, of the 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry, between Jursall and Ranawao as he was journeying to Porbandar to proceed on leave to England. The outlaws were vigorously pursued by the States of Nawanagar and Porbandar, and in A.D. 1849 Rudo was captured, while Widha Manik finding it impossible to live as a closely hunted man, surrendered shortly afterwards, when he was tried and sentenced by the Political Agent at Rajkot.

Mahuva again became a seat of trouble in A.D. 1851, when some of the Arab troops of Wajesinhji seized the town and refused to surrender until their claims for arrears of pay should be satisfied. On the advice of the Political Agent, Colonel Lang, they finally evacuated the fort and an agreement was passed with Bhavnagar State whereby their just claims were recognized, and the rebellion ceased.

Nawab Hamed Khan II of Junagadh, who had succeeded his father in A.D. 1840, died of consumption in A.D. 1851 at the early age of twenty-three. His brother, Mahomed Mahabat Khan, who was only fourteen years of age and was living at the time at Radhanpur, now

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became Nawab, but on account of his youth a Council of Regency under the Presidentship of Anantji Amarchand was appointed to manage the affairs of the State until the Nawab attained the age of twenty-one years. During this Regency the claims of Junagadh on the Kundla district of Bhavnagar were heard by Colonel Lang, the Political Agent, who decided that the Bhavnagar State should make to Junagadh an annual payment of nine thousand rupees in satisfaction.

Wajesinhji Gohel of Bhavnagar died in A.D. 1852 and was succeeded by his grandson, Akherajji, who only ruled for two years, when his brother Jaswantsinhji succeeded him. On the death of Akherajji the Mamlatdar of Gogha, supported by the Collector of Ahmadabad, proceeded to Bhavnagar and claimed possession on behalf of the British Government of the districts of Gogha, Ranpur, and Dhandhuka, comprising in all one hundred and sixteen villages, on the ground that the direct line of succession had died out and that Jaswantsinhji could not lawfully succeed to that portion of the estate of his brother. An attachment was meanwhile placed over the districts in question, but the Bhavnagar State strenuously opposed the contention, and received the support of the Political Agent, Major Barr. The matter was placed before the Government of Bombay, who upheld the contention of Bhavnagar, and ordered that Jaswantsinhji should succeed to the disputed districts as forming part of the State. Subsequently in A.D. 1859 the districts were placed under the Kathiawad Political Agency as the result of difficulties having arisen two years previously between the State and the police of Ahmadabad, who had unadvisedly interfered in the State affairs.

Nawab Mahabat Khan was permitted to assume control of Junagadh State in A.D. 1859 on reaching the age of twenty-one, and he retained the President of the Council of Regency, Anantji Amarchand, as his Dewan. But

AFFAIRS IN JUNAGADH

during the seven years of his minority his mother, Naju Bibi, and a woman by name Chaitibu had acquired great influence over the young Nawab, and endeavoured to retain their power after the affairs of the State had been handed over to him. This naturally brought them in conflict with Anantji Amarchand, the Dewan, and in the name of the Nawab a strong representation was made to the Political Agent describing the unsatisfactory state of affairs. It was thereupon decided that a Council of Regency should be again established, and in A.D. 1859 Captain Shortt proceeded to Junagadh to re-inaugurate the measure. But the mother's influence still remained paramount in the State, and Captain Shortt reported to the Government of Bombay on the conditions. As a result, in A.D. 1860 Mr. Kinloch Forbes was sent to Kathiawad as Political Agent, and he persuaded Anantji to resign, one Dungarshi Devshi being appointed in his place. For four months the administration was carried on without much hindrance, but after that, matters were made so difficult by Naju Bibi and her two confidential servants, Keshavji and Virji, that after holding office for a little over a year Dungarshi Devshi was obliged to resign. Some short time afterwards, Dungarshi was found to have been sheltering Wagher outlaws, and was disgraced. He was also found to have been involved in a murder, and in the investigation being made into the facts of the case it was found that Keshavji, Naju Bibi's servant, was also implicated, and he was placed with others in confinement.

The young Nawab, who was still kept in a state of virtual imprisonment by his mother, at this juncture wrote to the Political Agent, asking to be released from the unhappy condition in which he existed, and Captain Elliot was sent by Colonel Barr to Junagadh. Shortly afterwards Captain Elliot died, and Mr. Coulson was appointed to continue the enquiries. Mr. Coulson en-

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camped at Wanthali, and while he was there the Nawab succeeded in escaping from Junagadh with his brother, when they fled to his camp and asked his protection. The Nawab remained with Mr. Coulson, who sent word to Colonel Barr as to what had taken place. He now received orders to go to Junagadh and to expel all people from the palace who were there against the Nawab's will. Shortly afterwards Colonel Barr decided to proceed himself to Junagadh, where after the exercise of much tact and patience the disturbing elements were removed without bloodshed from the palace and the Nawab installed.

In the meantime Keshavji procured his release from detention through the able advocacy of his counsel, whereupon he endeavoured to raise public sympathy on his behalf by publishing in the papers articles referring to the state of affairs in Junagadh. The Government of Bombay now appointed Major Anderson to act as Political Agent until the arrival of Major Keatinge, V.C., to take up the appointment permanently, and removed Colonel Barr since they disapproved of his action at Junagadh. Enquiries were now instituted to find out whether pressure had been put upon the young Nawab to induce him to change his advisers, and fear of a return to his former condition of tutelage so alarmed him that he strongly objected and asked to be allowed to remain his own master. Keshavji was now tried, and on being found guilty of intrigue was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Virji was subsequently placed in confinement in the Uparkot for instigating Naju Bibi to rebel, where he died from a fall from a window, and with his death ended any further attempt to control the actions of the Nawab by those whose influence in State affairs was undesirable. Gokalji Jhala was appointed Dewan in A.D. 1861 on the departure of Dungarshi Devshi, and he continued to hold the appointment until A.D. 1878, when he died.

Meanwhile the Waghsers had continued their activities

WAGHERS AGAIN ACTIVE

and many turbulent characters had begun to follow the example of Widha Manik, undeterred by his fate. When in A.D. 1817 the British had handed over Okhamandal to the Gaekwad of Baroda, those leading Waghers who had been deprived of their lands were given pensions. But in A.D. 1857 some interference was made by the Gaekwad's Government regarding those pensions, and the angered recipients, only too glad of an excuse, created a disturbance which was not suppressed until after the arrival of British troops in the district under Lieutenant Barton. In the following year more discontented Waghers seized the fort at Dwarka, and were not driven out until British troops again attacked them. It was now decided that the Gaekwad's Government should prosecute its own operations against the disturbers of the peace, and Lieutenant Barton withdrew his detachment. The Baroda troops now invested Wasai, and after a desultory siege the Waghers finally came to terms. But in A.D. 1859, encouraged by the events of the Mutiny, they rose *en masse* and under the leadership of Jodho Manik seized the whole of the Okhamandal Peninsula. The Gaekwad's representative now wisely placed the affairs of the district entirely into the hands of the British, and a body of troops under Colonel Honner was sent to subdue the rising. The Waghers entered Kathiawad and took up a position on the Abpura Hills, from which after some fighting they were dislodged in December of the same year.

But a small party of the insurgents escaped and proceeded by sea to Sutrapada, where they were joined by outlaws against Junagadh State and many other malcontents. They now began to ravage the territory of the Gaekwad, and on October 8, 1860, with magnificent insolence, attacked and captured Kodinar. The Baroda troops were unable to withstand them as they had no ammunition, while relieving forces arriving from Amreli

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were found to be in the same unprepared condition. The outlaws thus plundered at their leisure, and after much eating and drinking retired unmolested at nightfall. The rebellion now attracted the attention of the Secretary of State, and as a result of the weak rule exercised by the Gaekwad's Government, it was decided that two British Assistants to the Resident at Baroda should be stationed, one at Dwarka and the other at Amreli. Shortly afterwards Jodho Manik died of fever in the Gir Forest, but his death did not put an end to the Wagher disturbances.

In A.D. 1862 Deva Manik and Mulu Manik, who had been captured in the Abpura Hills three years before, now escaped from confinement at Baroda, and returning to Okhamandal they once more threw that district into disorder. A great number of outlaws in Kathiawad joined them and attacks were again made upon the Gaekwad's Amreli territories. The Amreli police proved insufficient to cope with them, and a fourth Dhari regiment of Gaekwad's troops was raised and placed under the orders of the Assistant Resident. Finally at the end of A.D. 1864 a strong force of Waghers took up a position on Chachai Hill, twelve miles from Dhari, and there defied all attempts to dislodge them. A British detachment was finally sent against them from Rajkot under Captain Stow, Royal Artillery, when the Waghers withdrew to Okhamandal without offering battle. In December A.D. 1865 they again entered the Gir and attacked the Amreli district, but a force under Colonel Keatinge, V.C., soon drove them from their hitherto secure retreat.

The Waghers had now become a public nuisance, and it was decided to crush them altogether to relieve the province from their menace. Accordingly in A.D. 1865 a fund was started to provide money for combined operations, to which the States of Junagadh, Gondal, Porbandar, and Nawanagar contributed largely. A sum of

EXTENSIVE OPERATIONS

two lakhs of rupees was collected, to which were to be added fines imposed on Talukdars for harbouring or otherwise found to be aiding the outlaws. By means of this fund a corps of five hundred men was raised under two British Superintendents and two Assistants, and this force was stationed at fifteen outposts. The mountainous country which they were to supervise was divided into two divisions, Eastern and Western, with headquarters at Wanthali and Barda Choki respectively. In August A.D. 1867 Lieutenant Gordon was appointed Superintendent of the Western division, having under his command the Nawanagar, Porbandar, and Gondal levies, while Lieutenant Hemsted was appointed to command the Eastern division, his detachment comprising the levies from Junagadh and the Bantwa talukas. The Assistants appointed were Khan Bahadur Sheikh Kamrud-din and Jamadar Sayad Alwi-bin-Edrus.

The outlaws still continued to defy all authority, and the forces operating against them lost no time in making every effort to round them up. Colonel Anderson, Political Agent, taking charge of the operations, on December 26, A.D. 1867, received information that all the principal rebels were being harboured at the village of Butwadar in Dhrafa, and at once made a forced march against them, only to find his information was not correct. Two days later, on December 29, further intelligence was obtained to the effect that the outlaws had seized a subject of Nawanagar at Wadala, and had made off followed by a patrol. A cavalry force under Captain Harris, 1st Bombay Lancers, pushed on after them at once, Colonel Anderson and his two assistants, Captains Henry Hebbert and Charles La Touche, accompanying the force. The infantry received orders to follow hard upon them, and the cavalry after marching a forced march for seventeen miles, finally came up with the Waggers near the village of Mancharda, where they were

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found to be strongly entrenched on the Tobar Hill, an isolated peak rising about three hundred feet above the surrounding country. The outlaws at once opened fire on the troops, who surrounded the hill and awaited the arrival of the remainder of the force under Major Reynolds, 17th Bombay Infantry, since they were not sufficiently strong to attack the position themselves.

In the evening the reinforcements arrived, and it was decided to attack the outlaws at once. Captain La Touche at the head of a party of levies with Jamadar Sayad Alwi attacked from the South-East, while a small force under Major Reynolds attacked from the South-West. Captain Hebbert, at the head of some men of the 17th Bombay Infantry, was made responsible for the West and North-West, while the remainder of the levies under Jamadar Jalam Singh of Nawanagar were placed so as to attack from the North and North-East. Unfortunately the Nawanagar levies refused to advance against the outlaws, in spite of promises of rewards, and when the simultaneous attack by the remaining three parties culminated in their arrival on the crest of the hill, the Waghers fled on that side where no resistance was offered. The outlaws were armed with guns and rifles which they used effectively, and on reaching the top of the hill Captain Hebbert fell mortally wounded. Major Reynolds was wounded slightly, and Captain La Touche pursued the rebels down the unattacked side of the hill, followed by his men. Seizing Jamadar Jalam Singh's horse, he mounted and pursued alone the flying Waghers, shooting one dead. He had wounded another and was dismounting to kill him with his sword when the wounded man contrived to fire his loaded rifle and shot his pursuer through the side. The wound was mortal, and Captain La Touche died in a few minutes in the arms of Jamadar Sayad Alwi, who had followed close upon his leader. Deva Manik was killed, as were several other outlaw leaders, notably Mamudia Sidi, Karson Meher, and

DEATH OF MULU MANIK, OUTLAW

Punja Manik, while Sakhur Makrani was severely wounded. The British losses were twelve killed and two wounded, but the result of the encounter was that the Wagher gang was completely broken up for the time being. Jamadar Sayad Alwi was presented by Government with a gold medal in recognition of his bravery and was also made " Khan Bahadur," while suitable rewards were made to others who had done especially well in the operations. Those of his levies who had shown cowardice were punished by Jam Vibhoji of Nawanagar, and the deaths of Captains Hebbert and La Touche were universally mourned throughout the peninsula.

In the following year, on May 7, the Western division of the levies under Jamadar Nanda, assisted by a party of the Rana of Porbandar's forces under Jamadars Lakha and Mubarik, came upon those outlaws who had escaped from Tobar Hill at the village of Wanchurda, in Porbandar, and there surrounded them. They made a desperate resistance, killing two and wounding eight of the attacking force. But the principal rebels were all killed, including Mulu Manik, and with their deaths ended the Wagher revolt which had disturbed the peace of Saurashtra for years. Jamadars Nanda, Lakha, and Mubarik were the recipients from Government of generous money rewards for the part played by them in ridding the province of the pests.

The following ballad translated by Mr. Kincaid in his book " Outlaws of Kathiawad " refers to Mulu Manik in flattering terms and shows something of the romance which surrounded those lawless warriors :

The Maratha may charge like the set of the tide,
He fears not, who often the battle had tried.
They dread him at Dhari, though Dhari be far,
And they shake at his name in remote Kodinar.
The lords of the land may sit perched on a throne,
But he takes all their treasure and towns for his own.

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And their insolence fades and their whiskers uncurl,
When they see the gay banner of Manik unfurl.
Awaiting the feast each Kathi reclines.
Mulu comes. At his ease off their dinner he dines.
Deep vengeance they plan. What recks Mulu the bold ?
Kings grovel before him whene'er they are told.
And the Rajput and Kathi they fear him the same,
And the white man grows whiter on hearing his name (!)

CHAPTER XVII

(A.D. 1868-1879)

IT was in A.D. 1865 that Colonel Keatinge proposed conferment of salutes of eleven guns on the chiefs of the first class in Kathiawad, who at that time were H.H. the Nawab of Junagadh, H.H. the Jam of Nawanagar, H.H. the Thakor of Bhavnagar, H.H. the Rana of Porbandar, and H.H. the Raj of Dhrangadhra, and the Government of India were pleased to agree to this proposition in the following year. Following close after the granting of this honour, on December 22, A.D. 1866, Colonel Keatinge, V.C., C.S.I., at a Darbar held at Wadhwan invested H.H. Ranmalsinhji of Dhrangadhra with the rank of Knight Commander of the Star of India, and the Jhala chief thus became the first of those in Kathiawad to be so honoured. Three years later, however, he died, and was succeeded by his son Mansinhji. New ideals of administration in the States were now making great strides under the influence of the peaceful condition throughout the province. Jam Vibhoji, who had succeeded to the *gadi* of the Nawanagar State on the death of his father, Jam Ranmalji, in A.D. 1852, introduced in A.D. 1866 a beneficent reform when he appointed regular paid servants of the State to administer the various districts, thus superseding the former custom of farming them out to favourites. This wise reform removed a source of great evil, for the practice before it was introduced had resulted in oppression of the cultivators in order to extract all possible from them, scarcely even

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allowing them in many cases sufficient to live upon. In the same year the civil and criminal jurisdiction over the districts of Gogha, Dhandhuka, and Ranpur, which had been assumed by the British Government in A.D. 1816, was restored to Thakor Jaswantsinhji of Bhavnagar. This measure was the result of an enquiry conducted in A.D. 1860 to investigate the matters under dispute between the Government of Bombay and the Bhavnagar State. The Thakor's reforms in the administration of his territories led Government to show further appreciation of his work in the following year, when the title of Knight Commander of the Star of India was conferred upon him.

With the advances made in every direction throughout the peninsula, the need had long been felt of some suitable institution at which the sons and relations of the chiefs of Kathiawad might be educated. Colonel Keatinge made every effort to establish some good system, but found the chiefs and their advisers strongly antagonistic to any suggestion which should remove their sons from their homes. The whole Zenana influence was also brought to bear against the scheme, but Colonel Keatinge persevered and gradually persuaded one chief after another to grant him funds towards building a Rajkumar College at Rajkot, for which he selected a suitable site. Finally his continued efforts bore fruit. A sufficiently large sum to begin with was collected, and on April 28, A.D. 1868, Colonel Anderson, who had succeeded Colonel Keatinge as Political Agent, laid the foundation-stone of the College.

Among so many evidences of the progress such as we have seen enumerated it was unfortunate, perhaps, that a reminder of former conditions should occur in the province to show that *festina lente* was the guiding principle still to be followed. Less than a century before, mutilation was not looked upon as anything very extraordinary and rough-and-ready justice was not always

A CASE OF MUTILATION

tempered with mercy. Of this an instance was provided in A.D. 1869, when Rana Vikmatji of Porbandar returned to his capital after a visit to an exhibition at Broach. During his absence the administration of the State had been conducted by his son, Madhavsinhji, who was led by evil associates to drink and became so overcome with the habit that he died from indulgence in it during the Rana's absence. When the chief heard the whole facts of the case, in his anger he ordered that the nose and ears of the man Lakshman, who had been chiefly concerned in ruining his son, should be cut off. After this punishment had been inflicted, the man threw himself from a terrace in the palace and subsequently died of the injuries he thereby received.

The circumstances soon became known to Government, who at once took away the powers of a first-class chief, which the ruler of the State enjoyed, and degraded him to the third class. The Rana felt, perhaps with justice, that he had been harshly treated, and considered that the proper punishment for a man who had ruined his son was death, while he had contented himself with mutilation. He was himself of irreproachable character, and the particularly cold-blooded manner in which the ruin of Madhavsinhji was accomplished appealed to him as meriting the most stringent punishment. However, in A.D. 1886 the powers which had been forfeited were restored to the Porbandar State on Rana Vikmatji being dethroned for continued misrule.

Thakor Jaswantsinhji of Bhavnagar died in April A.D. 1870 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Takhat-sinhji, who was, however, a minor at the time aged twelve years. The Government of Bombay therefore decided to establish a joint administration in Bhavnagar until Thakor Takhat-sinhji should be of age, and Mr. E. H. Percival together with Mr. Gawrishankar Udayashankar were selected to be the first Administrators. This was

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not the first instance of its kind, the States of Limbdi and Rajkot having been placed under similar administrations three years previously.

The year A.D. 1870 marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the province, for in that year the Rajkumar College was opened and the most important beginning was made in educating young chiefs and embryo rulers so as to make them fitted to take their places afterwards as competent administrators under modern conditions of civilisation. The experiment—for the inauguration of the College was nothing more than this—shortly proved to be an enormous success, and the example was quickly followed in other parts of India. On December 16, A.D. 1870, Sir Seymour FitzGerald, Governor of Bombay, declared the main building opened at a Darbar held at Rajkot, at which the ruling chiefs of Junagadh, Nawanagar, Dhrangadhra, and Porbandar, and many others were present. When all had taken their seats, Colonel Anderson, the Political Agent, made the following speech, detailing the circumstances leading to the memorable occasion which formed the reason for the assembly, and for the visit made to Kathiawad for the first time by the Governor of Bombay, within which Presidency under British rule Kathiawad was constituted :

“ Your Excellency : The ceremony which we have solicited your Excellency to perform this evening is one which we fervently hope may be the most auspicious connected with your visit to this province. It is the opening of the Rajkumar College, designed for the education of the sons of the chiefs and nobles of Kathiawad. It owed its origin to that most energetic and able Political Officer, Colonel Keatinge, to whose impetus most of the progress this most important province has made of late years is due. Urged by him, the chiefs and talukdars, with characteristic willingness, responded to the call, and furnished the requisite funds, which subsequently had to

THE RAJKUMAR COLLEGE OPENED

be doubled. The foundation-stone was laid on April 25, 1868, and the building you see is now in a state of sufficient completeness to admit of its being put to the great use for which it is intended. In its present state it has cost a lakh of rupees, but some considerable sums will yet have to be spent to provide accommodation and equipment indispensable for an academy intended for the noble youths to be lodged and brought up in it suitably to the position they will hereafter be called upon to hold. For its architectural beauty and the professional skill displayed throughout the whole our warmest thanks are due to Mr. Robert Booth, who, as our Local-Fund Engineer, has constructed many useful public works in the province. The present building can at once accommodate twenty-five students, the number at first contemplated as likely to avail themselves of it ; but with the additions which have been provided for in the original plans, and for which funds are required, quadruple that number can be lodged within its precincts. In according your formal sanction to it, and declaring it open in the presence of the chiefs of Kathiawad assembled round you, I would earnestly crave that you would again impress upon them the political utility, nay the desirability, of educating their sons in such an institution common to all.

The fact may not be unknown to all that the rulers and leaders of peoples and communities cannot with safety be permitted to be brought up in ignorance, or suffered even to be satisfied with an ordinary *pandit*, or even what an educated tutor can impart from books at home. To be properly fitted for their position they must have what we in Europe would call a manly education and a physical training in order to make them strong and healthy and intelligent governors and administrators of the people of their ancestral dominions. Persons occupying their position cannot afford to lose sight of the fact that although education, in its widest sense, has in all countries had for its first votaries the poorer portion of the population, royalty and aristocracy have ultimately found it to be to their vital interest to follow in paying their devoirs to the Goddess of Knowledge ; and history

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furnishes no example of an aristocracy or monarchy successfully holding its own by lagging behind in progress of knowledge amongst their social inferiors or subjects.

Regarding the establishment of the College, the Director of Public Instruction, with whom I have been in communication, has secured for it the services of Mr. Chester Macnaghten, a gentleman of high and varied attainments, and master of some of the vernacular languages of the East. It is a matter of much regret that he has been unable to arrive in time to take part in this interesting ceremony of opening, but, from a communication lately received from him, he announces his immediate departure from Benares and his hope of joining us by the first week in January. In the meantime, such of the assistants as can be secured will make all the preparations pending his arrival.

It is a source of the greatest gratification to me that your Excellency should have so opportunely timed your visit to this ancient province as to admit of this noble building being opened formally by yourself. The benefit which it will derive from this auspicious event will, I consider, be incalculable. The prestige of your Excellency's name is great, and your Excellency's interest in all that concerns education will, I fervently trust, be likewise extended to this College, the first of its kind in Kathiawad, and which under Providence, let us hope, may in time emulate the fame of the Eton of the Western World. Its success will be a step in advance and will be a pledge of future benefit to both the rulers and the ruled of Kathiawad ; and whereas formerly the sons of chiefs rarely, if ever, learnt anything beyond the limits of the palace or zenana, we now hope in time to have in their place an intelligent, educated, manly set of noble youths and burning with emulation to outstrip each other in the glorious task of elevating humanity.

I now beg of your Excellency to declare this College open for its important object, naming a day when its first term shall commence, and informing the fathers of its intended inmates assembled around you of the arrange-

THE VALUE OF EDUCATION

ments made for the beginning of its work, and may Heaven's choicest blessings be showered on it !

To this speech Sir Seymour FitzGerald made the following reply :

Princes and Chiefs of Kathiawad, and Colonel Anderson,—The duty which you have called upon me to fulfil is one almost of a merely formal character ; but because it is merely formal, it is not the less a subject of the greatest gratification to me, because I am confident that the ceremony in which we are engaged to-day, simple as it is, is one of the most vital importance to this Presidency, and one which will probably, or rather certainly, if it is properly carried out, bear fruits, the full value of which neither I, nor any one here, can rightly or fully estimate. And I must congratulate you, Chiefs of Kathiawad, that we are met here to-day to complete an undertaking which his Excellency the Viceroy only a few weeks ago, in addressing your brother chiefs in Rajputana, recommended to them as an enterprise which it was important for them to commence, and thus, among the princes of your own blood and race, you have arrived at the goal before they have started ; you have this noble building completed before they have even begun to consider the measures necessary to enable them to carry out what you have successfully achieved.

You have asked me, Colonel Anderson, to impress upon the chiefs here present the importance and the value of this institution. It is difficult for me to do more than reiterate that which I ventured most to impress upon them in Darbar only the day before yesterday ; but I have the success of this undertaking so much at heart, that I do not hesitate very shortly but earnestly to repeat what I then said. I beg them to consider what you yourself have pointed in your address—that the object of the institution is not merely that the sons of the chiefs of Kathiawad should have the means of acquiring a certain amount of knowledge, but that they should acquire it in the most valuable form in which it can be attained, in a manner that shall train and discipline the character

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as well as the head and strengthen them for the duties they will be called upon hereafter to fulfil. I do not doubt that information may be acquired under a tutor at home, nor would I have it supposed that under a system of private tuition moral principles are necessarily neglected ; but what cannot be so obtained is the self-reliance on the one hand and the appreciation of others on the other, which is obtained by an education in a public college among their own fellows and equals, removed from the evil influences which might counteract the benefits they would otherwise receive. It is the object of this institution to secure this, and I look to you, one and all, by your example and your influence, to second our efforts, and take care that no groundless prejudice, no evil influence, or underhand advice, shall impede the success of this great experiment.

I was particularly pleased, Colonel Anderson, with one point which you remarked upon in your address, and that was, that the lads who are to be educated here will receive a good physical as well as a sound mental training ; that it is not merely the head that is to be stored ; that it is not merely in acquiring knowledge that they will be placed in competition with their equals, but that, as a part of your designing, space is set apart for athletic sports and manly amusements. I should wish the youths trained here to take pleasure in feats of strength and activity, to ride well, to shoot well ; in fact to have the taste for manly pursuits which an English country gentleman seldom fails to obtain at a public school.

There is one particular point to which you alluded, Colonel Anderson, which I cannot pass over, and that is the obligation which the whole community of Kathiawad, and, as one having the interest of that community at heart, the obligation which I also feel, to the gentleman who has so zealously co-operated with you in the erection of this noble building. I am sure there is not a single chief here who, both now and hereafter, will not say that he is greatly indebted to Mr. Booth, for the care, the zeal, and the intelligence with which he has carried out the design which your predecessor, Colonel Keatinge, origi-

THE FIRST PUPILS

nated, and which you now have so successfully completed. I have now the formal but agreeable duty to perform of declaring this College open; and in doing so, the first step is to commit the charge of this institution and building to the able Public Officer who presides over the education of this presidency.

I now ask you, Mr. Peile, to take this institution under your fostering care, and to bestow upon it the same attention—the same zealous attention—which you devote to every part of the department which has been entrusted to you. It will be a great object, I think, that this institution should be opened at an early date. Of course it is impossible at this moment, under the circumstances that you, Colonel Anderson, have alluded to, absolutely to fix a day upon which the institution shall be opened, but I would suggest to you and Mr. Peile, that the chiefs should be given the earliest opportunity of availing themselves of its advantages. I think that probably, after some consultation with you, Colonel Anderson, Mr. Peile will be able to say that the College shall be open for the reception of the inmates from the 1st of February next, and that will give the chiefs full time to mature their plans, and make the arrangements they may consider necessary. And now, having said this, it is only left for me publicly to declare that this, the Rajkumar College of Kathiawad, is from this day open.

Under such auspices the Rajkumar College was declared open. Mr. Chester Macnaghten, a gentleman of great ability and high ideals, was selected for the post of Principal, and on February 1, A.D. 1871, the first term began. At first the numbers attending were small, and consisted of K.S. Takhatsinhji of Bhavnagar, the first name on the books; K.S. Harbhamji and K.S. Waghji of Morvi; K.S. Jaswantsinhji and K.S. Wakhatsinhji of Limbdi; K.S. Bawajiraj and K.S. Ladhubha of Rajkot; K.S. Harisinhji of Bhavnagar; K.S. Dajiraj of Wadhwan; K.S. Mansinhji of Palitana; and K.S. Samatkhanji and K.S. Anwar Khanji of Bantwa. But term by term the

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numbers increased, and what at first partook of the nature of an experiment became in a few years a very real factor in the advancement of the province. Before the College had been opened a year it was found necessary to enlarge it, and in A.D. 1873 the main building was supplemented by a wing on the North side of the quadrangle in accordance with the original design.

Another very important institution was begun in A.D. 1873, when the Rajasthanik Court became established. It happened that no special provision had before been made, when jurisdictional powers of the chiefs had been determined, for hearing disputes concerning land between the chiefs and members of younger branches of their family who held land for maintenance, and other similar cases in which landed estates held on a semi-feudal tenure were involved. If such a case fell within the jurisdiction of a chief, it was heard by him, and if beyond his jurisdiction it was heard by the Political Assistant (now since A.D. 1902 Political Agent) in charge of the district concerned. It was not, however, the practice to interfere in cases which a chief was competent to hear by virtue of his jurisdictional powers. The result was that there was no right of appeal against a chief's decisions, but in A.D. 1867 it had been decided that the British Government should assist if necessary in enforcing the obligation which bound the chiefs to refrain from seizing land, and to give effect to this decision it was proposed to make some arrangement for the hearing of disputes of the nature referred to. Accordingly the Rajasthanik Court was established, consisting of a British officer as President, and six members chosen by Government out of a list submitted by the chiefs. Of these six members the President chose two to sit with him as assessors, and either party to a dispute had a right of objecting to one of the members.

To the Bhayats and Girassias (as the holders of landed

NATHU MANIK, OUTLAW

property under a chief are called) this measure proved a great boon, and for many years until it was abolished in A.D. 1890 the Rajasthanik Court worked with complete success.

Outlaws still continued to make their presence felt in various parts in spite of the repressive measures resorted to, and though their depredations were not of a very serious nature, it became necessary to pursue the misguided men with vigour until they were either killed or captured. Accordingly in A.D. 1873 Lieutenant Humfrey was appointed with the consent and at the expense of the States to the command of a small body of mobile troops, ready to proceed with all speed in pursuit of any outlaws whose whereabouts became known. In the month of March Nathu Manik at the head of a gang emerged from Okhamandal, and plundered three Porbandar villages. They then attacked Gondal territory, and continued raiding as opportunities presented themselves. Finally in October the Nawanagar Police Superintendent, Popat Velji, with the force under him came upon the outlaws in a field in the vicinity of Kalianpur, in the Barda Hills. News was sent at once to Captains Wodehouse, Salmon, and Scott, who were encamped at Sodana, sixteen miles away, and these three officers hastened with all their available forces to render help to the Nawanagar men. They arrived at Kalianpur to find an attack had resulted in several losses on either side, and in the withdrawal of the outlaws slowly towards the village. The arrival of fresh forces completely cut off their retreat, and the hunted men were forced to take refuge in an old disused well. They were now given the opportunity of surrendering quietly and of laying down their arms. After a certain amount of parleying, during which the outlaws were informed that any information they would give which might lead to the apprehension of the remainder of the gang would be taken into consideration at the trial,

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they accepted the terms offered, and six men surrendered. Three of the gang were still at large, including the leader, Nathu Manik, and shortly afterwards two of them gave themselves up to Captain Jackson, Assistant Resident at Okhamandal, the third being killed by a *charan* about the same time. In recognition of his services the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred upon Mr. Popat Velji, and valuable gifts were presented to him by Government at a public Darbar held in March of the following year.

H.H. Jam Vibhoji in A.D. 1873 began to coin gold *koris* at his mint in Nawanagar, but so many counterfeiters arose that it was found necessary very soon to discontinue the currency. In the previous year he had introduced moulds for the copper coinage, replacing the old method of cutting roughly and hammering the metal.

In A.D. 1874 Mr. J. B. Peile became Political Agent in Kathiawad, and in the same year Sahebzada Bahadur Khanji, the heir-apparent of Junagadh, having completed a two years' course at the Rajkumar College, went on a tour in India in charge of Colonel Lester. The heir-apparent of Bhavnagar, Kumar Takhat Singhji, left the College about the same time, and was placed under Captain H. L. Nutt for the purpose of continuing his studies privately. In A.D. 1875 Sir Philip Wodehouse, Governor of Bombay, paid a visit to Kathiawad, in the course of which he held a Darbar at Rajkot, and opened new Water-works at Nawanagar.

On Monday, January 1, A.D. 1877, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Lord Lytton, held at Delhi an Imperial Assemblage for the purpose of proclaiming to the chiefs and peoples of India the assumption of the title of "Empress of India" by her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria. Chiefs from far and wide flocked to the ancient capital of the Moghals, and the province of Kathiawad was represented by H.H. the Nawab of Junagadh, H.H. the Jam of Nawanagar, H.H. the Thakor of

SOME INDIAN TITLES

Bhavnagar, and the Thakor of Morvi, on this historic and impressive occasion. H.H. the Raj of Dhrangadhra was also invited to attend, but on account of illness he was unable to do so. In commemoration of the event various honours were conferred, and a scale of salutes for chiefs was laid down. A salute of eleven guns was attached to the chiefship of all first-class States, and nine guns to that of all States of the second class, though in the latter case the salutes remained only personal to the chiefs concerned until A.D. 1879, when they were declared to be attached to the chiefship. As personal distinctions salutes of fifteen guns were accorded to H.H. Sir Mahabat Khanji, K.C.S.I., of Junagadh ; to H.H. Jam Vibhoji of Nawanagar ; to H.H. Rawal Takhat Singhji of Bhavnagar ; and to H.H. Raj Mansinhji of Dharangadhra. A personal salute of eleven guns was also granted to Thakor Waghji of Morvi. Banners were presented to each of the rulers of the first class, including Rana Vikmatji of Porbandar, who had been degraded to the third class nearly eight years before, and H.H. Jam Vibhoji and H.H. Raj Mansinhji had the Knight Commandership of the Star of India conferred upon each of them. The insignia of these honours was presented to the recipients by the Political Agent at a Darbar held at Rajkot on January 1, A.D. 1878, when Gawrishankar Udayashankar, Joint Administrator of Bhavnagar, was made a Companion of the same order.

At the time of Colonel Walker's first entry into Kathiawad the titles of the various chiefs differed considerably, and "Raja," "Rana," "Rawal," "Thakor," "Bhumia," and "Rawat" were variously used. The designation "Raja" was applicable to the head of a ruling family only, but a condition of its assumption was that the chief using it did not pay tribute to another of his family, and must be independent—the fact of tribute being paid to the Moghals or to the Marathas not affecting this condition. The Nawab of Junagadh, being a Musalman, did

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not adopt the titles generally used by the Hindu rulers of the peninsula, among whom the Jam of Nawanagar took precedence, and was addressed as "Maharaja Raja Shri." He did not rise from his seat when receiving a visit, and neither did he return a salute. Besides the Jam, the chiefs of Porbandar and Dhrangadhra were properly "Rajas"—the first named, however, using the title of "Rana"—while the chiefs of Bhavnagar, Morvi, Wadhwani, and Limbdi and others were recognized as Rajas by courtesy though their proper designation was "Thakor." The title "Rawal" is used by the Gohel chiefs of Bhavnagar, Sarangji Gohel, an ancestor of the family, having assumed it on receiving help from the Rawal of Champaner in recovering his possessions from his uncle Ramji in about A.D. 1420.

"Thakors" were those chiefs who were not powerful enough to assume and use the title of "Raja" or who were the heads of distinct but inferior branches of a family. To the head of a family "Thakors" owed a feudal submission.

The "Bhumias"—a designation now fallen entirely into disuse—were possessors of landed property of an inferior gradation, who subsequently became known as "Girassias."

Finally "Rawat" was a title of honour signifying "valiant." It was hereditary and was generally bestowed by a Raja for some service rendered. All these titles were used by the Rajput chiefs only, the Kathis and Babrias using no particular designation to show their status.

Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, came on a visit to Kathiawad in A.D. 1877 and held a Darbar at Bhavnagar, afterwards going to Nawanagar. Early in the year Mr. Percival had been succeeded by Major J. W. Watson as Joint Administrator of the Bhavnagar State, the minor Thakor Saheb being associated with him, and displacing Mr. Gawrishankar, C.S.I., who reverted

MR. GAWRISHANKAR UDAYASHANKAR, C.S.I.

to the post of Dewan. But Major Watson was himself succeeded in June of the same year by Colonel Parr, on being appointed President of the Rajasthani Court. In the following year Colonel L. C. Barton became Political Agent in Kathiawad, and on May 5 the full powers of the administration of Bhavnagar were entrusted to Thakor Takhatshinhji, he having attained the age of twenty years. In the same year a joint administration was introduced into Gondal State during the minority of the minor chief, Bhagwatsinhji, and Major W. Scott and Mr. Jayashankar Lalshankar were appointed Joint Administrators. On January 1, A.D. 1879, Thakor Waghji was placed in sole charge of Morvi State, after having made a long tour in India under the charge of Captain Humfrey. In this year also the buildings of the Rajkumar College were completed with the erection of the wing on the South side of the quadrangle, given by H.H. Thakor Takhatshinhji of Bhavnagar.

One of the most well-known men in Kathiawad since the time of Dewan Amarji retired into private life in A.D. 1879, when Mr. Gawrishankar Udayashankar, C.S.I., resigned the Dewanship of Bhavnagar State. This official had spent nearly his whole life in the service of the State, earning by his patience, tact, and ability an enviable reputation as a model Minister. Born in A.D. 1805 at Gogha of a poor and respectable Nagar Brahman family, he procured at the age of seventeen an appointment in the State, and in the following year was appointed Revenue Officer of Kundla, which soon became the scene of the depredations of the Khuman Kathis. In these troublous times he administered his charge so well that it soon became apparent that his ability warranted more important work at the capital. With excellent judgment he smoothed over the period of ill-feeling between the State and the Government of Bombay, when the vexed question of the three disputed districts which finally ended in A.D. 1866

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was in danger of becoming acute. Subsequently he played a prominent part in the administration of the State, when his excellent work called forth approbation from Government. Finally, as a reward for his labours he was made a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and when he retired from service in A.D. 1879 he took with him the regret and goodwill of all. He continued to live a simple life in peace for twelve years longer, when he died universally mourned throughout the province, and known as Swami Satchidanand Saraswati.

The Nagar Brahmans have long been distinguished in Kathiawad for their ability and shrewdness, and are to be found associated with the administration of nearly every important State. Their origin has never been satisfactorily determined, but it is generally supposed that they are of the same race as the Gujar Nagirs of the United Provinces. They came originally from Vadnagar in Gujarat, one of the oldest cities in that province, which tradition says was founded by the Solankis. When Visaldev Chohan founded Visalnagar in A.D. 1014, Vadnagar Brahmans attended a sacrifice he performed. Visaldev asked them to receive alms from him, but they refused, though some of them accepted grants of land. For this the latter were outcasted, and became known as Visalnagar Nagars. Subsequently many of both sects migrated to Saurashtra, and at once began to take prominent positions in the larger towns. Their fondness for power, aided by their astuteness and success in intrigue, kept them constantly striving to attain the highest places, and many members of their class reached positions of great importance. Before A.D. 1808 one section of them had acquired Vasawad from the Kathis, and from the time of Colonel Walker's settlement the Nagars of Vasawad have been recognized as tribute-paying talukdars.

The class is now divided into two subdivisions—those

RAILWAYS IN KATHIAWAD

who engage in secular pursuits being known as Nagars, and those whose calling is the performing of religious offices being known as Nagar Brahmans. Both eat together, but are very strict in their caste and religious observances, and will not eat with Brahmans of any other sect.

Progress in Kathiawad now began to be marked through the construction of railways. In A.D. 1879 Bhavnagar State undertook the construction of a line from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan, and also, together with Gondal State, of another from Dholka to Dhoraji. Thus the province became connected by rail with Gujarat, and no longer was to lie, as it were, practically an inaccessible adjunct of India. The value of railways in the opening up and development of a country and its resources has never been more marked than in the case of Kathiawad. The old prosperity began again to return in greater proportion than ever before to the country so full of possibilities. Trade once more began to circulate and bring wealth to the rulers and people, whose present fortunate and prosperous condition is due mainly to the prompt adoption by the chiefs of the modern methods of communication and commercial enterprise afforded by the construction of railways throughout the peninsula.

CHAPTER XVIII

(A.D. 1880–1896)

THE Rajkumar College at Rajkot had proved such a successful undertaking that it was decided to open within the province a school conducted on similar lines for the education of sons of Girassias, the members of junior branches of the chiefs' families. Wadhwan was selected as a suitable place for the establishment of such a school, and with the least possible delay funds were collected and buildings commenced. Finally, ten years after the opening of the parent institution at Rajkot, the Talukdari Girassia School at Wadhwan was opened in A.D. 1881, proving in a very short time as great a success as the more important undertaking had been. The school has since performed a great work in diffusing education among those classes of holders of landed property who previously looked upon the acquiring of knowledge, except that of fighting, as an occupation scarcely worth even a thought. Although but thirty-three years have passed since the school was opened, evidence of the good work it has performed is manifest throughout the province.

On May 24, A.D. 1881, the young Thakor Takhatsinhji of Bhavnagar was made a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and the following year Nawab Sir Mahabat Khanji of Junagadh died, being succeeded by his eldest son, Bahadur Khan. A small tribe known as Mayas now began to give trouble in Junagadh territories. These people, who hold land in twelve villages in the Junagadh State, had endeavoured

MIANAS AGAIN ACTIVE

in A.D. 1872 to attack the town of Junagadh with the idea of restoring the dynasty of the Chudasama Ras. In consequence of their turbulence they were then deprived of their arms, with the result that they went into outlawry and were with difficulty persuaded to return to their homes. Subsequently their holdings were demarcated and their rights defined, and they were ordered to pay a moderate assessment in lieu of military service, which they could no longer perform to the State. They refused positively to pay such assessment, and when their appeal to Government on the question suffered rejection they deserted their villages in December A.D. 1882, and taking up a position on a hill in neutral territory, defied all attempts at mediation.

It was now feared that their example would be followed by other lawless or discontented tribes in the peninsula, and orders were given to disarm and capture them unless they dispersed quietly. The result was a fight in which both the Mayas and the police lost considerably. A Commission presided over by Mr. S. Hammick, I.C.S., was now appointed to inquire into the Maya grievances, which were chiefly of the nature of a list of complaints against the Junagadh State and its police. The disputes dragged on, and it was not until six years afterwards that a satisfactory conclusion was arrived at, and peace was finally restored on the basis of an exchange of land in lieu of the cash assessment.

A Miana outlaw of Malia now began a series of robberies and excesses which made his name feared throughout the districts in which he moved and plundered. In the middle of A.D. 1883 a number of robberies were committed in the North and North-West of Kathiawad by a body of mounted men, whose leader was soon ascertained to be Movar Sandhwani of Malia, whose supposed participation in a mail robbery in A.D. 1879 had brought him into prominence on account of the large reward offered for

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his apprehension. He had since remained in hiding, but now considered himself sufficiently safe to continue his activities. Strong police measures were, on his identity being established, at once taken in hand to capture him, but all attempts proved useless on account of the sympathy with him or the fear of reprisals from him, on the part of the people of Malia, and also because of the inefficiency or corruption of the police. Want of co-operation by the people of Malia, Morvi, Nawanagar, and Dhrangadhra paralysed all attempts made to capture or crush the bandits, and as the efforts of the various States acting independently failed to check their depredations, it was decided that they should contribute in men and money to a scheme for raising a body of well-mounted men to be constantly in readiness to follow the outlaws whenever their whereabouts should become known. All these States, with one exception, furnished their quotas without objection, and the force so raised was placed under Jamadar Umar of the Junagadh State Police. But the success hoped for of the plans devised failed to be realized, and Movar Sandhwani was not only not captured, but even made several daring raids.

He succeeded in capturing on the road between Wawania and Malia one of the Malia officials engaged in the work of hunting him down, and taking him into a field, cut off his nose and lip, stole his horse and clothes, and left him to proceed home as best he could. This daring episode, which was the outcome of a coarse jest made by the unlucky official at the expense of the outlaw's wife, increased his reputation, and gained him a still larger meed of sympathy. Shortly afterwards he attempted to set Malia on fire, and shots being fired into the town at the same time, a party of mounted police hastened to the spot whence the shots came. The outlaws now fled, but were tracked as far as the Rann of Kachh, which they crossed during the dark. Next morning the pursuit

SOME MAKRANI OUTLAWS

was continued, and the tracks taken up on the North side of the Rann with such vigour that the police came upon five of the band and kept them under close observation until the Kachh authorities could arrive to effect their capture. But the affair was bungled and two of the five succeeded in escaping.

It was now considered desirable to send an infantry detachment to Malia to assist the police and to reassure the now thoroughly frightened inhabitants. The outlaw leader, with two permanent companions and several who joined him temporarily, was now harried with renewed vigour, and finally in March A.D. 1885 he surrendered to Captain Salmon and was taken to Rajkot jail, but not before several atrocious cases of robbery and mutilation attributed to him had been committed. He was tried by a Special Magistrate, Captain L. L. Fenton, who committed him to the Court of Session, where he escaped conviction for want of evidence. While this was much to be deplored, yet it afforded an excellent example of the justice of the Courts established under British rule in Kathiawad. After his lucky escape Movar Sandhwani was given a post in Nawanagar State, which fact doubtless kept him out of mischief and brought about his reformation.

While Movar Sandhwani was continuing his depredations in the North of the peninsula, troubles of a similar nature took place in Junagadh territory in the South, where the looting of eighty-one villages, and the murder of twenty-one persons and mutilation of ninety-eight others, brought into prominence a gang of Makranis who held the village of Inaj and claimed independence from the State. Much forbearance was shown them at first, but the refusal of the Makranis to allow the Junagadh police to investigate an offence of a serious nature committed by some Inaj villagers brought matters to a head, and the help of the Agency was sought by Junagadh in maintaining its

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rights. A message was sent to the Makranis, warning them to submit to the jurisdiction of Junagadh, of which they took no notice and insulted the messenger. A strong force of sixty mounted and one hundred and fifty foot police was sent against the village with the object of overawing the disturbers of the peace. Colonel Scott accompanied this force, and on August 18, A.D. 1884, he called upon the twenty-five leading Makranis to lay down their arms and to submit to the authority of Junagadh. A promise of compliance was given, but next day at the time specified the promise was not fulfilled, and the Makranis instead opened fire upon the troops. After much delay the place was stormed with a loss to the defenders of six killed and three wounded, as against seven killed and fifteen wounded of the attacking force. Unfortunately six or seven of the Makranis succeeded in escaping, and formed the nucleus of a gang of outlaws which for a long time defied all attempts to break it up, and wandered about in the Gir Forest and its environs, looting and terrorizing the inhabitants of many villages.

Major Humfrey was appointed to conduct operations against the outlaws, and in a short time Abubakar, one of the leaders, was killed, while three fled the country. There still remained, however, the three most dangerous members of the original Inaj band, and these were supplemented by other bad characters whenever a village was to be attacked. The operations against the survivors were so rigorously conducted that in March A.D. 1887 they endeavoured to make for their country, the Makran, by circuitous routes. One of them, Din Mahomed, was captured on arrival at Bombay, while a second, Kadar Bax, was arrested at Karachi after making a desperate resistance during which he killed one policeman and wounded another. The third desperado, Alidad, was traced to a village sixty miles distant from Karachi, where he was caught in the act of bargaining with a camel-man

TWO CHIEFS VISIT ENGLAND

for his transit to Makran. He managed, however, to escape by night, but was followed up, and finally surrendered when half dead with hunger. All were tried and executed for their crimes, and with their removal peace and security were once more established in Junagadh.

In A.D. 1883 Colonel E. W. West became Political Agent in Kathiawad, and in the same year engagements were taken from the chiefs for the regulation of the manufacture of and trade in salt. The joint administration of Gondal ceased on August 24, A.D. 1884, when the State was handed over to Thakor Bhagwatsinhji after he had been associated in the administration for some months with Colonel H. L. Nutt, and had undertaken a journey to Europe, visiting all the principal cities of that continent. The diary of his tour, "The Journal of a Visit to England in 1883," is of much interest as showing the impressions of the first of the Kathiawad chiefs to undertake the journey to England, which has since become a means of widening their horizon and of inculcating the spirit of progress now everywhere evident. Thakor Waghji of Morvi visited England the same year. Shortly after assuming charge of his State, Thakor Bhagwatsinhji was nominated a Fellow of the University of Bombay. In A.D. 1886 he joined Edinburgh University with the object of obtaining medical qualifications, and in the following year the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by that University.

On January 1, A.D. 1886, the honour of G.C.S.I. was conferred on Thakor Sir Takhatsinhji of Bhavnagar, and in the same year Colonel J. W. Watson succeeded Colonel West as the administrative head of the province. Shortly afterwards Rana Vikmatji of Porbandar was deposed on account of the maladministration of his State. It was now restored to its former position among those States of the first class, and Mr. F. S. P. Lely of the Indian Civil Service was appointed to be the Administrator. For

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continued bad administration such a course was the only remedy to take, since it was unthinkable that the universal progress should be permitted to be hindered by bad conditions of rule existing in one portion of the peninsula, and the deposition of the ruler was in full accord with the policy of progress and co-operation steadfastly pursued by the Government of India. The year A.D. 1887 marked the Jubilee of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Empress of India, and among the honours given to celebrate the occasion were those to Thakor Bhagwatsinhji of Gondal and Thakor Jaswant-sinhji of Limbdi, each of whom was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire. Thakor Waghji of Morvi was similarly honoured, and his State was raised from the second to the first class, Gondal State being treated in the same way.

Railway construction now became universal. In A.D. 1886 a line between Dolia and Wankaner had been opened, and in December of the following year Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, turned the first sod in the construction of a railway between Dhoraji and Porbandar, and of another from Jetalsar to Verawal. In A.D. 1888 the latter section was opened for traffic, and next year the construction of the former and also of a line from Rajkot to Wankaner was completed, and both were declared open by Lord Reay.

The year A.D. 1890 was made memorable by the visit to Kathiawad of Prince Albert Victor (Duke of Clarence). He first went to Bhavnagar, whence he proceeded to Pipawaw, where he laid the foundation-stone of the new harbour works. In commemoration of the occasion the port was re-named Port Albert Victor, and on the following day his Royal Highness went by sea to Verawal, and thence to the Gir Forest on a short lion-shooting expedition. He afterwards visited Junagadh, and on March 21 left Verawal for Bombay. This was the first

IMPERIAL SERVICE TROOPS

occasion on which a Western Prince had set foot in the ancient land of Saurashtra.

Scarcely less memorable was the spontaneous offer made by the rulers of Junagadh, Nawanagar, and Bhavnagar in the same year to provide troops for Imperial defence in common with many other chiefs in other parts of the Indian Empire. It was towards the end of A.D. 1888 that the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, addressing a meeting of chiefs at Patiala, proposed that those who were anxious to contribute in some way towards Imperial defence should raise a portion of their armies to such a pitch of general efficiency as to make them fit to go into action side by side with Imperial troops. These troops were to be known as Imperial Service Troops, and were to be recruited and to be quartered in the States of the chiefs contributing. A few British officers, known as Inspecting Officers, were to be appointed to supervise training and equipment, and the whole cost of maintaining the troops was to be borne by the chiefs. As soon as this scheme became known, the chiefs of Junagadh, Nawanagar, and Bhavnagar in September A.D. 1890 offered to raise mounted corps of 100, 150, and 342 men respectively, and their offers were gratefully accepted. Captain A. W. Forbes was appointed in A.D. 1891 to be the first Inspecting Officer in Kathiawad, with headquarters at Rajkot, and the work of raising and training the troops was at once taken in hand. They have since made excellent progress, and were utilized in Imperial interests in A.D. 1899 during the South African War, when a number of men and horses from each State proceeded on active service.

In A.D. 1890 Mr. E. C. K. Ollivant was appointed Political Agent, and in November of the same year his Excellency Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay, invested H.H. Bahadur Khanji, Nawab of Junagadh, with the insignia of the G.C.I.E. at a Darbar held at Rajkot. The following year H.H. Sir Takhat Singhji of Bhavnagar

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received the title of "Maharaja" as a personal distinction at a Darbar held at his capital.

The most serious disturbance of modern times in the Kathiawad peninsula took place in A.D. 1892, when after two years spent in daring robbery and violence, a band of outlaws was secured. The origin of the trouble took place in A.D. 1890, when a certain Mahomed Jan was arrested in connexion with a murder committed in Morvi, and sentenced. Unfortunately while on the way to Ahmadabad he succeeded in escaping from the custody of the police escort, and returned to Malia after spending some months in concealment. Joined by other Mianas, he took part in another murder in October A.D. 1891, after which the gang was augmented by several noted outlaws. These included Juma Gand, well known for his depredations in Kachh, a bad character from Dhrol named Habibmia, and Wala Namori, a Miana, who had been Movar Sandhwani's lieutenant some years previously. The whole gang crossed the Rann into Kachh territory, where they remained for a time and then emerged in December to commit a robbery in a Wankaner village, and afterwards in Baldhoi, under Lodhika. The object of the second attack, however, made a determined resistance in defence of his life and property, and in the fight which ensued Mahomed Jan was so seriously wounded that he died shortly afterwards. But the rest of the gang escaped, and were no more heard of until February A.D. 1892, when they looted the Muli village of Jasapur, injuring eleven persons and carrying off property of considerable value.

An energetic pursuit of the outlaws was undertaken and they were eventually tracked to a ruined hill-fort near Than. But they learnt of the pursuit and escaped by night before a sufficient number of men to surround them and effect their capture could arrive from Rajkot. The pursuit, however, was taken up at once, and the

WALA NAMORI, OUTLAW

fugitives were again tracked to the ruined Sayla village Valajal, where they took up a strong defensive position. The small body of mounted men which came upon them was unable to effect their capture, and before the armed foot police could arrive to take part in an attack upon them, the dacoits again escaped under cover of darkness.

No less than three times subsequently they succeeded in escaping from justice, firstly at Chanchapur in Morvi State, and afterwards in the Gir Forest and at Babra, the reason being in each case the passive or active sympathy shown them by the people and inefficient methods on the part of the police. They then crossed the Rann, and in April A.D. 1892 for their next venture stole horses stationed at various parts along the road to be travelled by the Governor of Bombay, who was on a visit to the Rao of Kachh. This daring act necessitated their return to Kathiawad, where they roamed closely pursued, and on November 20 Habibmia was surrounded in a field and surrendered to Mr. W. L. B. Souter, the Police Superintendent of Dhrangadhra State. The remainder of the gang were not heard of again for about a month, when they were discovered to be hiding near the village of Khakhrechi. A mounted party under the command of Lieutenant H. L. Gordon at once hastened to the spot, and followed the outlaws to the village of Karadia near Malia, where they entrenched themselves in a shallow watercourse, and hoisting their flag dared the attackers to come on. It was now getting dark, and as an exchange of shots did not appear to result in the discomfiture of the outlaws, Lieutenant Gordon decided to charge them. After first giving instructions not to stop if he or Jamadar Kalandar Shah Khan should fall, he set himself at the head of his men and rode for the dacoits' trench. But only three mounted men actually reached the trench with him, Jamadar Kalandar Shah Khan being on his right, and Dafedar Mahomed Shakir with Sowar Ram-

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chandar on his left. The remainder diverged from the very beginning of the attack and at the end of it were some twenty yards to the right.

The guns of the outlaws were thus directed towards only four men, and Lieutenant Gordon on nearing the trench was shot dead, eleven wounds being found on his body afterwards. The Jamadar escaped miraculously, but the Dafedar shared the fate of his leader, while Sowar Ramchandar's horse was shot. After the charge, the survivors dismounted and began firing on the dacoits at close range, and after about fifteen minutes only four or five of the outlaws remained alive, and a rush made with swords ended the affair.

The result of the encounter was the complete destruction of the gang which had terrorized the Northern parts of the peninsula for two years. Wala Namori, with eleven other companions, was killed, and his reign of lawlessness was over. In commemoration of the affair, a tablet was erected in the Lang Library at Rajkot containing the following inscription :

In honour of
LIEUTENANT HARRY LAURENCE GORDON
2nd Bombay Lancers
DAFEDAR MAHOMED SHAKIR
and
NAIK HAJI SAJAN

of the Kathiawad Agency Police, who were killed at Karadia in Malia on the 19th December 1892 whilst gallantly charging a noted band of dacoits who were well armed and in a strong position. Their deed honours them more than any words can do, and this tablet is erected by all the chiefs and other friends in Kathiawad who deplore their loss.

Naik Haji Sajan did not participate in the charge, but was in command of a small party detached behind the outlaws to cut off their retreat.

A monument was erected on the site of the encounter, and Jamadar Kalandar Shah Khan was given the title of

WALA NAMORI'S EPITAPH

“ Khan Saheb ” and presented on November 10, A.D. 1893, at Rajkot with a sword of honour and a money reward for his gallantry on the occasion. A bardic eulogium on the acts and death of Wala Namori praises equally the outlaw and his vanquisher, and an excellent translation of the poem by Mr. Kincaid in “ The Outlaws of Kathiawad ” runs as follows :

Though the hatred of kings is unsleeping,
 Yet Morvi and Malia were one ;
Though they hated they joined for the moment
 Till the days of Namori were done.
His head never bowed to the mighty,
 As the wind, so his spirit was free,
And he roamed from the Rann to the Bardas,
 And he robbed from Wadhwan to the sea.
Had Mor and Namori united,
 Then the earth had been theirs for a prey.
But the love of the lowly lasts always,
 And the love of the great for a day.
Fate's orders, O Wala Namori,
 Are pitiless, ever the same,
Or as stands out some fort on the Bhadar,
 So had towered thy castle of fame.
Earth's kings must have kings for their rivals,
 So lion-souled Gordon arose.
Had Gordon not been, then Namori
 Had ruled from the line to the floes.
From heaven the Apsaras hastened
 To wed with the brave who should fall.
Young Gordon died first, so they bore him
 To wed with the fairest of all.
When two lions lie prone in death grapple
 Their pride and their valour are one,
Thus Gordon's fame sprang from Namori
 And Namori's from Gordon was won.

Early in A.D. 1892 H.H. Sir Bahadur Khanji of Junagadh died, without however leaving an heir, and without having exercised the privilege accorded him in common with other chiefs by Government of being permitted to

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adopt an heir in the event of there being none to succeed. The selection of a successor therefore lay with the Government of India, who nominated his brother, Rasul Khanji, to occupy the vacant *gadi*. The new Nawab was installed by Sir Charles Ollivant at a public Darbar held at Junagadh in June of the same year.

Education had by now made such strides throughout the province that it was considered the time had arrived when the more important States might with confidence be permitted to control their own educational arrangement, and in A.D. 1892 this control was handed over to them. The supervision of education in all other States remained in the hands of the Agency, an Educational Inspector being responsible for the welfare and progress of the department under his charge. The privilege extended to the first- and second-class chiefs has not been abused, and to-day education in their States has reached and maintained a very good standard.

The first Rani of an Indian ruling chief to cross the ocean was that of Gondal, H.H. Nandkunvarba, Rani Saheb, C.I., who in A.D. 1890 went to England with H.H. Thakor Sir Bhagwatsinhji for the benefit of her health. While there, Sir Bhagwatsinhji prosecuted his studies of medicine at Edinburgh University, where he took the degrees of M.B., C.M., and subsequently M.D., and became in A.D. 1895 a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. The University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. in A.D. 1892 and two years later he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and sat as Honorary President of the Eighth International Congress of Hygiene at Buda Pesth. In A.D. 1893 H.H. Sir Takhatshinhji of Bhavnagar was also honoured by an English University when the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him at Cambridge; and in the next year Jadeja Ranjitsinhji, afterwards Jam of Nawanagar, obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts after studying at

JUMA GAND, OUTLAW

the same University, whence he had proceeded from the Rajkumar College at Rajkot.

Still another Miana outlaw attained an unenviable reputation in A.D. 1894, when Juma Gand, a Kachh subject, sought to acquire fame similar to that of Wala Namori, but perished ingloriously in the attempt. His first robbery with violence had been committed as far back as A.D. 1888, when he stole a musket from a Malia policeman and wounded him with a knife while doing so. He was subsequently captured, but escaped from the Rajkot jail. However, he was again taken, and after undergoing six months' rigorous imprisonment took to looting whenever and wherever possible in Kathiawad and beyond the Rann. Finally on April 10, A.D. 1894, Mr. Souter, who was pursuing him, was informed that six armed Mianas were concealed in a "tank" near Dhrumath in Dhrangadhra State. With all haste a small party of mounted police covered the distance of fifteen miles which separated them from their quarry, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the "tank" just before midday. The outlaws took up a position similar to that chosen by Wala Namori, and in imitation of that bandit flew a red flag above it.

From a glance it was evident that the gang were well defended, and that they could not be captured by a mounted force. The police therefore dismounted and took up positions which gave them the best possible view of the outlaw's stronghold. On seeing them, the gang opened fire, which was returned and continued for about a quarter of an hour. Mr. Souter then determined to make a rush, and before doing so he changed his helmet for a sowar's turban, which ruse greatly bewildered Juma Gand, who for the purpose of acquiring fame had determined to kill the English leader, whom he was now unable to recognize. Mr. Souter led his men with skill, and despite a desperate resistance on the part of the outlaws

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and the fact that they were completely sheltered by the sides of the pit in which they had entrenched themselves, the police reached the position with the loss of but four men killed and two wounded. All the outlaws were accounted for, and the killed included Juma Gand and six other desperadoes. For their gallantry Mr. Souter and the force which he commanded were made the recipients of handsome rewards.

Lord Harris, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bombay, visited Kathiawad in A.D. 1893, when he declared open at Gondal the railway from Rajkot to Jetalsar, and also turned the first sod of the line which was to run between Rajkot and Nawanagar, which latter place is now more generally known as Jamnagar. In April of the following year H.H. Sir Vibhoji of Jamnagar died, and was succeeded by his son Jaswatsinhji, during whose minority an Administrator, Major W. P. Kennedy, was appointed to rule the State and to safeguard the young chief's interests. H.H. Sir Takhatsinhji of Bhavnagar died in A.D. 1896, and was succeeded by his son, Bhavsinhji, the present ruler of the State. Less than a month after this sad event occurred another no less grievous loss, when Mr. Chester Macnaghten, the first and universally loved Principal of the Rajkumar College, died at Rajkot. His loss at a comparatively early age was very real, for his conspicuous ability contributed perhaps more than any other one factor to the enlightenment and progress which to-day characterise those ruling chiefs who at the early stages of their lives came under his fostering care. In the same year Thakor Mansinhji of Palitana was appointed a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and Captain W. J. Peyton, C.M.G., relieved Captain Forbes as Inspecting Officer of the Imperial Service Troops within the province.

CHAPTER XIX

(A.D. 1897-1915)

THE year A.D. 1897 marked the Diamond Jubilee of Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen and Empress, on which occasion Thakors Sir Bhagwatsinhji of Gondal and Sir Waghji of Morvi were each made the recipients of the insignia of the G.C.I.E. at the hands of her Majesty in England. In celebration of the Jubilee, Darbars were held on June 21 at various centres throughout the peninsula. Colonel J. M. Hunter, C.S.I., was now appointed Political Agent, and towards the end of the year H.E. Lord Sandhurst, G.C.I.E., paid a visit to Kathiawad. While at Rajkot he performed the opening ceremony of the Rasul Khanji Hospital for Women, which had been generously built for the good of the province by the Nawab of Junagadh. He afterwards went to Junagadh, and thence to Wadhwan, where on December 3 he cut the first sod in the construction of the railway to Dhrangadhra, which was opened in the following year. Lord Sandhurst paid a second visit to Rajkot in A.D. 1898, when he opened the Bhavsinhji Hall of the Rajkumar College, and unveiled a statue of Mr. Chester Macnaghten, the late Principal, before the College entrance.

It was in A.D. 1899 that rules regulating the sale of opium were finally sanctioned by the Government of India and communicated to the States. The first agreement made relating to the cultivation and sale of the drug had been in A.D. 1820, but it was found that the engagement was not adequately fulfilled, and in A.D. 1878

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD

fresh rules for the protection of Imperial interests were drawn up. This measure led to a claim by the States to be allowed to cultivate and manufacture opium for consumption, and a controversy arose upon the point. Two years later the Government of India ruled that the British Government had always exercised the right of levying opium duty, and that the prohibition as regards its cultivation was also of long standing, and the rules promulgated in A.D. 1881 finally settled the question. In this year also the Rajasthanik Court was abolished, as it was considered that all cases which were brought before it for decision could be equally well disposed of in the Courts of the States concerned. Appeals against the decisions of these Courts were to be made to the Agency, and parties still dissatisfied were to have the right of appeal to the Government of Bombay. The abolition of the Rajasthanik Court was indicative of the improved relations existing between chiefs and their subject land-holders, and of the progress in efficiency of the State Courts.

The most disastrous famine of modern times was brought about in A.D. 1899 by the failure of the rains. It soon became evident that distress was imminent, and as only six inches of rain fell, wells quickly began to dry up, and the cattle suffered severely through failure of the grass crop.

Every attempt was made by irrigation to make the cold-weather crops of some use, but the yield, even after the most strenuous exertions, fell far short of the average, and death from starvation stared nearly the whole of the cultivating classes in the face. Before the middle of January A.D. 1900 less than half the cattle in the province remained alive. A regular system of relief works was opened everywhere, and wells were dug as rapidly as possible in the hopes of finding sufficient water even for drinking purposes. In Dhrangadhra over fifteen hundred

LORD CURZON IN KATHIAWAD

were dug, and in Junagadh twenty-one works were opened which brought relief to thousands who would otherwise have starved. So far as possible those unable to work were lodged in poorhouses situated all over the peninsula, and the excellent arrangements made everywhere to meet the unexpected and unprecedented disaster were the means of saving the greater part of the population from extinction. As an example of the public spirit and charity prevailing may be taken the case of a Bombay merchant named Adamji Pirbhoy, a native of Dhoraji, who while the famine lasted fed and clothed thousands of people daily, besides maintaining at Dhoraji a poorhouse and dispensary for the relief of the sufferers.

Rana Vikmatji of Porbandar died in April A.D. 1900, and was succeeded by his grandson Bhavsinhji later in the year, when the British administration ceased and the first-class powers restored at its commencement were continued under certain conditions. Sir Mansinhji of Dhrangadhra died also in November, and on December 3 his grandson Ajitsinhji was installed on the *gadi* by Colonel W. P. Kennedy, who succeeded Colonel Hunter as Political Agent.

The Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B., visited Kathiawad in November A.D. 1900. Landing at Verawal, he was an interested visitor to the temple of Somnath, and afterwards proceeded to Junagadh, where he opened the Arts College and Technical Institution. A magnificent Darbar was afterwards held at Rajkot, which all the chiefs and leading men in the province attended. In the following year the Governor of Bombay, Lord Northcote, unveiled at Morvi a statue of Lord Reay, a former Governor, and afterwards visited Gondal, Junagadh, and Bhavnagar. Captain J. Talbot relieved Captain Peyton as Inspecting Officer of the Imperial Service Troops the same year.

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The designation of the senior representative of Government in the peninsula was changed in A.D. 1902 from "Political Agent" to "Agent to the Governor in Kathiawad." Previous to A.D. 1863 the province had been divided into ten separate divisions. Jhalawad in the North consisted of about fifty States, which originally included Viramgam, Mandal, and Dhandhuka. To its West lay Machhu Kantha, made up of Morvi and Malia. Halar embraced the North-West portion, and adjoining it were Okhamandal and Barda or Jetwad, better known as Porbandar. Sorath included Junagadh, Bantwa, and Amrapur, though the sea-coast from Mangrol to Diu was also known as Nagher. Kathiawad occupied the centre of the province, and was made up of Jetpur, Chital, Amreli, Jasdan, Chotila, Anandpur, and many smaller districts. Babriawad was the hilly tract of country lying to the South-East, while Und-Sarveya extended along the Shetrunji River. Finally, Gohelwad comprised the States of Bhavnagar, Palitana, Wala, Lathi, and the district round Gogha, and also formerly included the old division of Walak.

But these ten divisions were found to be too cumbersome for administrative purposes, and the peninsula was re-divided into Jhalawad, Halar, Sorath, and Gohelwad. The Assistant Political Officers to the Agent to the Governor over each of these four divisions, or "Prants" as they were called, became designated in A.D. 1902 as Political Agents, with headquarters at Wadhwan, Rajkot, Jetalsar, and Songadh respectively. Manekwada, near Bagasra, was exchanged in A.D. 1886 for Jetalsar by an agreement made with Gondal, in which State Jetalsar lies.

The areas of the four Prants differ considerably. Halar, the largest, consists of nearly 7500 square miles, of which nearly half is Nawangan State. It includes, besides, Morvi and Gondal and the second-class States of Wankaner, Dhrol, and Rajkot. Sorath extends over

CHIEFS' JURISDICTIONARY POWERS

considerably more than five thousand square miles of country, of which more than three thousand square miles is Junagadh territory, Porbandar being the most important State after it. Bhavnagar takes up more than half of the 4200 square miles comprising Gohelwad, Palitana being the State of next importance in the Prant. Jhalawad is of nearly equal size with Gohelwad, and Dhrangadhra, Limbdi, and Wadhwan are its three largest States.

As the States differ in size and importance, the powers of their chiefs differ also. These powers are arranged in seven classes. Chiefs of the first- and second-class States can exercise civil jurisdiction to any extent, while those of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth classes may only entertain suits in their courts the values of which are below Rs.20,000, Rs.10,000, Rs.5000, and Rs.500 respectively. Chiefs of the seventh class have no civil jurisdiction.

In criminal matters first-class chiefs may try for capital offences any person except a British subject, while second-class chiefs may try only their own subjects. The powers of a third-class State extend to the infliction of seven years' rigorous imprisonment, and fine amounting to Rs.10,000. In fourth- and fifth-class States only three and two years' imprisonment, with fines of Rs.5000 and Rs.2000 respectively, may be given to offenders, while in States of the sixth class only three months' rigorous imprisonment can be given, while a fine may not exceed Rs.200. The powers of a seventh-class chief are still less, for they are limited to the infliction of rigorous imprisonment for fifteen days and of fines of Rs.25.

Besides the jurisdictional chiefs there are a number of petty rulers whose non-jurisdictional States are grouped into Thana circles, the control of which is vested in the Political Agents, who are represented in these circles by subordinate officers known as Thanadars. Many of the States over which jurisdiction is thus exercised are

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extremely small, and in a great many cases the incomes their owners derive from them are too small to provide maintenance. Altogether in the province there are 188 States, Talukas and Estates of greater or lesser importance, of which 13 pay no tribute, 105 pay tribute to the British Government, 79 to the Gaekwad of Baroda, and 134 to the Nawab of Junagadh.

The last disturbance of any importance within the province occurred in A.D. 1903, when a gang of seven or eight Mianas under Maya Punja began looting in the neighbourhood of Songadh, and then robbed a mail conveyance on the road from Ranpur to Dhandhuka. These Mianas were some of a party of thirteen who, having been convicted for dacoity with murder, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, had succeeded in escaping from Petlad jail in September A.D. 1902 and in possessing themselves of the arms and uniforms of the police guards. On June 13, A.D. 1903, a shepherd came upon the gang, who were hiding in a stream near Gokharwala in the confines of the Chuda State. He at once informed the Chuda Kamdar, who wired to Wadhwan for assistance and took steps to surround the gang with as many armed men as he could collect. Finding they were the objects of observation, the outlaws abandoned their position in the stream and moved a short distance away from it to an old filled-in well, where they scooped out shallow pits to conceal themselves as much as possible, and, hoisting a red flag, invited the Chuda men to attack them.

Fire was opened upon them, which was continued desultorily until evening, when the Agency police arrived from Wadhwan under Chief Constable Mahobatsingh Haribhai. The ground all round the outlaws' position afforded no cover, and the Chief Constable despatched mounted men to bring cotton bales behind which the police might advance, and avoid thereby considerable loss of life. Three bales were procured, and on their arrival

MAYA PUNJA, OUTLAW

the police advanced behind them, rolling them along from two directions until they were within twenty-five yards from the outlaws' position. At the beginning of this advance one policeman raised himself to look over his bale, and was shot in the neck. It was now decided to make a rush, and springing from behind their bales, both police parties advanced simultaneously. One policeman was killed in this charge, but in the fighting five Mianas were almost immediately despatched. The leader, Maya Punja, with another of the gang, succeeded in running away, but they were pursued and caught. Maya Punja was killed as he showed fight, but the other man quietly surrendered. The whole of the gang was thus accounted for, with a loss to the attackers of two men killed and seven wounded.

For their services on this occasion, Chief Constable Mahobatsingh and the Kamdar of Chuda, Mr. Umiashankar, were granted the title of "Rao Saheb," while the police officer was also the recipient of a sword of honour along with the Superintendent and three men of the Chuda police. Dafedar Kamrudin Hidayat Ali was admitted to the third class of the Indian Order of Merit for his services, and many other police, and people of Chuda who gave assistance, received money rewards.

The Imperial Darbar held at Delhi on January 1, A.D. 1903, by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, for the purpose of proclaiming the Coronation of his Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India, was attended by H.H. Nawab Sir Rasul Khanji of Junagadh, H.H. Thakor Bhavsinhji of Bhavnagar, H.H. Rana Bhavsinhji of Porbandar, H.H. Thakor Sir Waghji of Morvi, H.H. Thakor Sir Bhagwatsinhji of Gondal, Thakor Mansinhji of Palitana, and Thakor Sir Jaswatsinhji of Limbdi, each of whom received a gold medal and two silver medals each for their Sardars. In Kathiawad Darbars were held at Rajkot, Dhrangadhra,

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Dhrol, and Wadhwan, and festivities and rejoicings were universal throughout the province. During the year, Mr. Waddington, Principal of the Rajkumar College, left to become the Principal of the Mayo College at Ajmer, and was succeeded at Rajkot by Mr. C. J. W. Mayne.

The British administration of Nawanagar came to an end in March A.D. 1903, when the young Jam, H.H. Jaswatsinhji, was seated on the *gadi* of his ancestors by Mr. H. O. Quin, who was acting as Agent to the Governor. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Governor of Bombay, made a short tour in Kathiawad in March A.D. 1905. He first of all performed at Wadhwan the opening ceremony of the metre-gauge railway connecting that place with Rajkot, a conversion from the broad gauge having been effected and the railways in the peninsula thus regularized. On March 4 he presented the Insignia of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India in a public Darbar to H.H. Thakor Bhavsinhji of Bhavnagar, who had been honoured with that order of knighthood the previous year. He then went to Junagadh, there to participate in a lion-shoot in the Gir Forest. On March 9, however, an incident occurred which put an end to His Excellency's tour. The shooting arrangements had been entrusted to Major H. G. Carnegy, Political Agent of Halar, who was himself a keen sportsman. A lion having been wounded, Major Carnegy determined to follow it up, but in the thick jungle he was himself surprised by his quarry and killed after a brief struggle. His death was universally regretted, and his funeral next day at Rajkot was largely attended.

In November of the same year their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales visited India, and many chiefs from Kathiawad went to Bombay to receive them. The Mounted Squadron of boys at the Rajkumar College had also the honour of forming part of their mounted escort, and remained in Bombay for some days for the

ADMINISTRATION AT PORBANDAR

purpose. In A.D. 1906 Lord Lamington again visited Kathiawad and completed the tour which had been so unfortunately interrupted the previous year. Mr. P. S. V. FitzGerald, C.S.I., followed Colonel Kennedy as Agent to the Governor this year, which was marked by the death of H.H. Jaswatsinhji, the youthful Jam of Nawanagar. He left no heir, and his cousin, Ranjitsinhji, who had before the birth of Jam Jaswatsinhji been adopted with the idea of succeeding to the *gadi*, was selected to be Jam, being installed by the Agent to the Governor on March 7, A.D. 1907. Six months afterwards he started on a prolonged visit to England, returning to India in January A.D. 1909.

A personal salute of fifteen guns was accorded to H.H. Rasul Khanji of Junagadh in A.D. 1907, and in the following year Mr. C. H. A. Hill, C.S.I., C.I.E., became Agent to the Governor in Kathiawad. Towards the end of A.D. 1908 Rana Bhavsinhji of Porbandar died, and his heir, Natwarsinhji, being a minor, a joint administration was appointed to guard his interests in Porbandar until he could succeed. The first Administrators appointed were Wala Vajsur Valera, a Kathi shareholder of Bagasra, and Rao Bahadur A. S. Tambe, who afterwards gave place to Mr. Kalianrai Jetha Bakshi. In November A.D. 1908 his Excellency Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Forces, visited Verawal and Junagadh.

H.H. Raj Saheb Ajitsinhji of Dhrangadhra was honoured by being made a K.C.S.I. in A.D. 1909, when H.H. Sir Rasul Khanji of Junagadh was advanced in the same order of knighthood. The title of "Maharaja" was also granted to H.H. Sir Bhavsinhji of Bhavnagar as a personal distinction.

Captain H. C. Kay, 8th Cavalry, succeeded Captain F. Adams as Inspecting Officer of the Imperial Service Troops in A.D. 1910, after the latter had held the appointment for four years, and the same year Sir George Clarke,

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Governor of Bombay (afterwards Lord Sydenham) made an extensive tour in the peninsula. In the course of the tour he visited Nawanagar, where he turned the first sod in the construction of the railway to Dwarka, and laid the foundation-stone of the new harbour works. On January 24 he visited Gondal, and at Bhavnagar on January 27 he inaugurated the construction of a railway from Sihor to Palitana, presenting also at a Darbar the *Sanad* of "Maharaja" to H.H. Sir Bhavsinhji. He visited Junagadh, where he declared open the Shapur-Bantwa Railway, and laid the foundation-stone of a market.

The year A.D. 1911 witnesses the death of two of the most prominent chiefs in Kathiawad. H.H. Sir Ajitsinhji of Dhrangadhra died in February, and H.H. Sir Rasul Khanji of Junagadh died in the following November. The former was succeeded by his son, Ghanshyamsinhji, while an administration under Mr. H. D. Rendall, of the Indian Civil Service, was placed in Junagadh during the minority of the minor chief, Mahabat Khanji, who became Nawab. His Most Gracious Majesty King George V, Emperor of India, accompanied by Her Majesty Queen Mary, visited India in A.D. 1911, and for the Imperial Darbar held at Delhi on December 12 and its attendant functions several Kathiawad chiefs received invitations. These included H.H. Ranjitsinhji of Nawanagar, H.H. Sir Bhavsinhji of Bhavnagar, H.H. Ghanshyamsinhji of Dhrangadhra, H.H. Sir Waghji of Morvi, H.H. Sir Bhagwatsinhji of Gondal, Raj Saheb Amarsinhji of Wankaner, Thakor Saheb Daulatsinhji of Limbdi, and Thakor Saheb Karansinhji of Lakhtar. Darbars were held at each of the Prant headquarters within the province, and in all the principal towns, while proclamations were made in nearly every village. The honours given on the occasion included a Knight Commandership of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire to Raj Saheb Amarsinhji of

RIOTS AT PORBANDAR

Wankaner, the Companionship of the same Order to Wala Shri Laxman Meram, chief of the third class of Thana-Devli, and the C.S.I. to Thakor Karansinhji of Lakhtar, while H.H. Nandkunvarba, Rani Saheb of Sir Bhavsinhji of Bhavnagar, was appointed C.I. Subsequently also Rao Bahadur Vithalrai Himatram Dave, Daftardar to the Agent to the Governor, received the Imperial Service Order for long and meritorious service to Government.

In A.D. 1912 a railway from Junagadh to Bilkha was opened by Mr. J. Sladen, who had been appointed Agent to the Governor in succession to Mr. Hill shortly before on the latter's appointment to a seat on the Council of H.E. the Governor of Bombay. Riots of a serious nature occurred in Porbandar in December A.D. 1912, when a quarrel involving a slight loss of life arose between the Mahomedan community and the Hindu fishermen, known as Kharwas. A force of Agency Police was despatched as soon as possible from Jetalsar to assist the local authorities, and on their arrival peace was restored. The valuable stone quarries of Ranawaw, near Porbandar, had lately been found to afford excellent material for the making of cement, with the result that a company was formed, and on February 9, A.D. 1913, Lord Sydenham, Governor of Bombay, landed at Porbandar for the purpose of laying the foundation-stone of the Porbandar Cement Factory at the request of the Indian Cement Company. This being completed, he went by sea to Verawal and thence to Junagadh, where he performed the opening ceremony of the "Coronation Memorial Hospital for Women and Children." Shortly afterwards the minor Nawab Saheb of Junagadh, H.H. Mahabat Khanji, proceeded to England for educational purposes under the charge of Mr. W. Tudor-Owen, his guardian, in company with Bahadursinhji, the minor Thakor of Palitana.

In the following July the riots at Porbandar were

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repeated, and a large body of Agency Police was again required to proceed to the place to restore order. Several persons were killed or injured before their arrival, but no serious outbreak occurred afterwards and the high feeling which existed between the two communities gradually died down. In consequence of the two occurrences, the joint administration ceased, and Major F. de B. Hancock was appointed sole Administrator.

Later in the year a disastrous flood at Palitana caused great loss of life and destruction of property. A relief fund for alleviating the distress which ensued was immediately opened, and steps to repair the damage were at once taken by Major H. S. Strong, the officer administering the State during the minority of the chief. In this year, too, Major G. B. M. Sarel, 11th King Edward's Own Lancers, succeeded Captain Kay as Inspecting Officer of the Imperial Service Troops.

And this brings us to the present year, A.D. 1915, the events of which are almost too recent to be called history. On the outbreak of the great war in August, A.D. 1914, the Kathiawad chiefs without exception proved their loyalty by placing the whole of the resources of their States at the disposal of the King-Emperor, while subsequently H. H. Jam Ranjitsinhji of Nawanagar and Raj Saheb Sir Amarsinhji of Wankaner themselves proceeded on active service to France. This is indicative of the spirit which now pervades the ancient land of Saurashtra. Chiefs and people are united in a common cause, that of progress and development under the fostering care of the paramount Power. The British Government and the chiefs work together in a mutual endeavour to increase the prosperity of the people, and the keynote of the British policy, so well responded to by all classes within the peninsula, is that of mutual co-operation.

It seems but a short time since the Maratha armies devastated the land year after year in an endeavour to

THE PATH OF PROGRESS

collect as much wealth as possible. Not theirs the task of advancing the interests and prosperity of the country which owed them suzerainty, nor yet did the Mahomedans for so many centuries before them attempt in any way not impregnated with self-interest to increase the welfare of their subject peoples. Throughout its history Saurashtra has been torn and devastated by invasion and discord, and to find any resemblance to the happy conditions of the present day it is necessary to go back to the times of Asoka Maurya, the great Indian Emperor, whose thoughts were always turned towards the well-being of the peoples over whom he ruled. The cycle of history has again been turned, and it is only left to hope it will now become permanently stationary.

Even within the last fifty years the advances along the lines of modern civilization have been so numerous and so diverse that it must indeed be hard for the people to realize conditions under which present-day advantages did not exist. A regular service of coasting steamers now promotes trade between Kathiawad ports and all parts of Asia and Africa. The Persian Gulf with its many mercantile entrepôts is continually visited by ships from Jamnagar, Porbandar, Mangrol, and many other ports, which carry goods from Saurashtra and return laden with the produce of Persia and other countries. No less remarkable is the development within the province. Among capable and energetic rulers the Maharaja, H.H. Sir Bhavsinhji, of Bhavnagar ranks high, and worthily follows in the footsteps of his great ancestor, Wakhatsinhji Gohel. His State is a model of efficiency and good administration, and has been the subject of many encomiums of late years. No less excellently managed is Gondal State, which has progressed almost beyond recognition under the fatherly care of its ruler, Thakor Sir Bhagwatsinhji. Its public buildings are numerous and costly, and the Girassia College at the capital, opened in

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A.D. 1898, is a monument to his Highness's efforts in the cause of education. The principal object in the establishment of the College was to rescue a useful and important class from the thraldom of ignorance, and to assist in removing the impression prevalent throughout the province that the interests of the chiefs and their Girassias always ran counter to each other.

H.H. Sir Waghji of Morvi has spared no efforts and expense in improving the conditions of his people, and H.H. Jam Ranjitsinhji of Nawanagar is a ruler equally as well known in England as in India. Dhrangadhra State under its young ruler, H.H. Ghanshyamsinhji, is continuing steadily in the path of progress. Of the second-class States Wankaner, under its ruler Sir Amarsinhji, is the largest and most important, and after it come Palitana, Dhrol, Limbdi, Rajkot, and Wadhwan.

And now the past has been recounted and the present discussed. The future is scarcely the work of the historian and must be left to evolve itself. Let us go forward, chiefs and people alike, in full confidence of what the years will bring, and with the firm conviction that Saurashtra will never again experience the times of turmoil and continued invasion which so frequently assailed the peninsula throughout the long period of time which separated the great Asoka from the present era of prosperity.

Think in this battered caravanserai
Whose doorways are alternate night and day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp
Abode his hour or two and went his way.

OMAR KHAYYAM.

APPENDICES

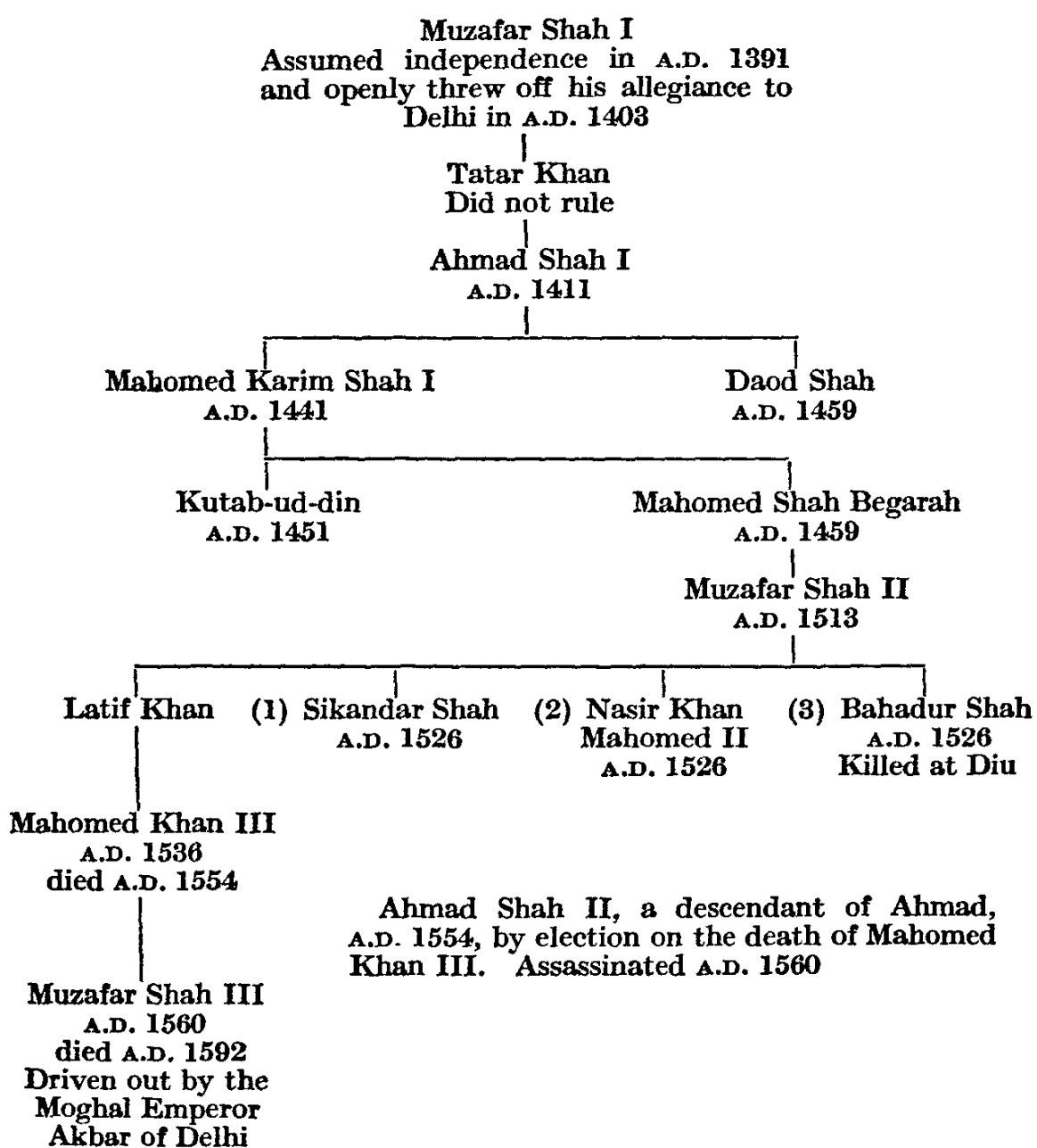
APPENDIX I

EARLY MUSALMAN GOVERNORS OF GUJARAT

Ala-ud-din Khilji,	A.D. 1297. Alaf Khan.
Emperor of Delhi.	A.D. 1318. Ain-ul-Mulk.
A.D. 1295–1315.	A.D. 1320. Taj-ul-Mulk.
Mahomed Taghlak,	Malik Mukbil.
Emperor of Delhi.	Khwaja Jahan.
A.D. 1325–1351.	A.D. 1338. Malik Mukbil. A.D. 1347. Moiz-ud-din. A.D. 1351. Nizam-ul-Mulk.
Firoz Taghlak,	A.D. 1371. Zufar Khan.
Emperor of Delhi.	A.D. 1373. Darya Khan, who governed by his deputy Shams-ud-din An- war Khan.
A.D. 1351–1388.	A.D. 1376. Shams-ud-din Damghani. A.D. 1376. Farhat-ul-Mulk. A.D. 1391. Zufar Khan, who assumed inde- pendence, and in A.D. 1403 threw off all allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi, in A.D. 1407 being crowned Sultan of Gu- jarat as Muzafar Shah I.

APPENDIX II

THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT AND SAURASHTRA



APPENDIX III

THE MOGHAL VICEROYS OF GUJARAT AND SAURASHTRA

Akbar,	A.D. 1573. Mirza Aziz.
Emperor of Delhi.	A.D. 1575. Mirza Khan.
A.D. 1573–1605.	A.D. 1577. Shahab-ud-din. A.D. 1583. Itimad Khan. A.D. 1583. Mirza Khan (Khan Khanan). A.D. 1587. Ismail Kuli Khan. A.D. 1588. Mirza Aziz Kokaltash. A.D. 1592. Sultan Murad Baksh. A.D. 1600. Mirza Aziz Kokaltash.
Jehangir,	A.D. 1606. Kalij Khan.
Emperor of Delhi.	A.D. 1606. Sayad Murtaza.
A.D. 1605–1627.	A.D. 1609. Mirza Aziz Kokaltash. A.D. 1611. Abdulla Khan Firoz Jang. A.D. 1616. Mukarab Khan. A.D. 1616. Sultan Shah Jehan. A.D. 1622. Sultan Dawar Baksh. A.D. 1624. Saif Khan.
Shah Jehan,	A.D. 1627. Sher Khan Tur.
Emperor of Delhi.	A.D. 1632. Islam Khan.
A.D. 1627–1658.	A.D. 1632. Bakar Khan. A.D. 1633. Sipahdar Khan. A.D. 1633. Saif Khan. A.D. 1635. Azam Khan. A.D. 1642. Isa Tar Khan. A.D. 1644. Sultan Mahomed Aurangzeb. A.D. 1646. Shaistah Khan.

APPENDIX III

Aurangzeb, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1658–1707.	A.D. 1648. Sultan Mahomed Dara. A.D. 1652. Shaistah Khan. A.D. 1654. Sultan Murad Baksh. A.D. 1657. Kasam Khan.
Bahadur Shah I, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1707–1712.	A.D. 1659. Shah Nawaz Khan Sagavi. A.D. 1659. Rathod Jaswantsinhji. A.D. 1662. Mahabat Khan. A.D. 1668. Khan Jahan. A.D. 1671. Maharaja Jaswantsinhji. A.D. 1674. Mahomed Amin Khan. A.D. 1683. Mukhtar Khan. A.D. 1684. Shujat Khan (Kartalab Khan). A.D. 1703. Sultan Mahomed. A.D. 1705. Ibrahim Khan. A.D. 1705. Sultan Mahomed Bedar Bakht. A.D. 1706. Ibrahim Khan.
Jahandar Shah, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1712–1713.	A.D. 1708. Ghazi-ud-din. A.D. 1710. Amanat Khan (or Shahamat Khan), Deputy Viceroy.
Farukhsiyar, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1713–1719.	A.D. 1712. Asif-ud-daulah. A.D. 1713. Shahamat Khan. A.D. 1714. Daod Khan Panni. A.D. 1715. Maharaja Ajitsinhji. A.D. 1716. Khan Dauran Nasrat Jang Bahadur.
Rafia-ud-darjat, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1719.	A.D. 1719. Maharaja Ajitsinhji.
Rafia-ud-daulah, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1720.	

APPENDIX III

Mahomed Shah, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1721–1748.	A.D. 1721. Haidar Kuli Khan. A.D. 1722. Nizam-ul-Mulk. A.D. 1722. Hamed Khan (deputy Viceroy). A.D. 1723. Sar Buland Khan. A.D. 1730. Maharaja Abhesinhji. A.D. 1733. Ratansinha Bhandari (deputy Viceroy). A.D. 1737. Momin Khan. A.D. 1737. Maharaja Abhesinhji. A.D. 1738. Momin Khan. A.D. 1743. Fida-ud-din (deputy Viceroy). A.D. 1743. Abdul Aziz Khan, by a forged order. A.D. 1743. Muftahkir Khan. A.D. 1744. Fakhr-ud-daulah. (Jawan Mard Khan Babi, deputy Viceroy).
Ahmad Shah, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1748–1754.	A.D. 1748. Maharaja Wakhatsinhji, who was the last Viceroy appointed by the Imperial Court.
Alamgir II, Emperor of Delhi. A.D. 1754–1759.	

APPENDIX IV

MAHOMEDAN GOVERNORS AND FOUZDARS OF SORATH

A.D. 1472. Tatar Khan.

Mirza Khalil, afterwards Sultan Muzafar Shah II of Gujarat.

Malik Aiaz, died A.D. 1521.

A.D. 1556. Tatar Khan Ghori.

A.D. 1573 (*circ.*). Amin Khan Ghori.

A.D. 1589 (*circ.*). Daulat Khan Ghori.

A.D. 1592. Navrang Khan.

Sayad Kasim.

A.D. 1633. Isa Tar Khan, until A.D. 1642, when he became Viceroy of Gujarat.

A.D. 1642. Inayat Ullah, son of Isa Tar Khan.

A.D. 1653. Kutab-ud-din.

A.D. 1665. Sardar Khan.

A.D. 1670. Sayad Diler Khan.

A.D. 1685. Sayad Mahomed Khad.
Shah Wardi Khan.

A.D. 1685. Sher Afghan Khan.

A.D. 1699 (*circ.*). Mahomed Beg Khan.

A.D. 1704. Sarandaz Khan.

A.D. 1714. Maharaj Kumar Abhesinhji, who ruled by his deputy
Kayat Fatehsinhji.

A.D. 1714. Abdul Hamid Khan.

A.D. 1715. Maharaj Kumar Abhesinhji ; (Kayat Fatehsinhji,
deputy).

A.D. 1715. Roza Kuli Khan.

A.D. 1719. Abdul Hamed Khan.

A.D. 1721. Asad Kuli Khan (Amir-ul-Umrao) ; (Mahomed Sharif
Khan, deputy).

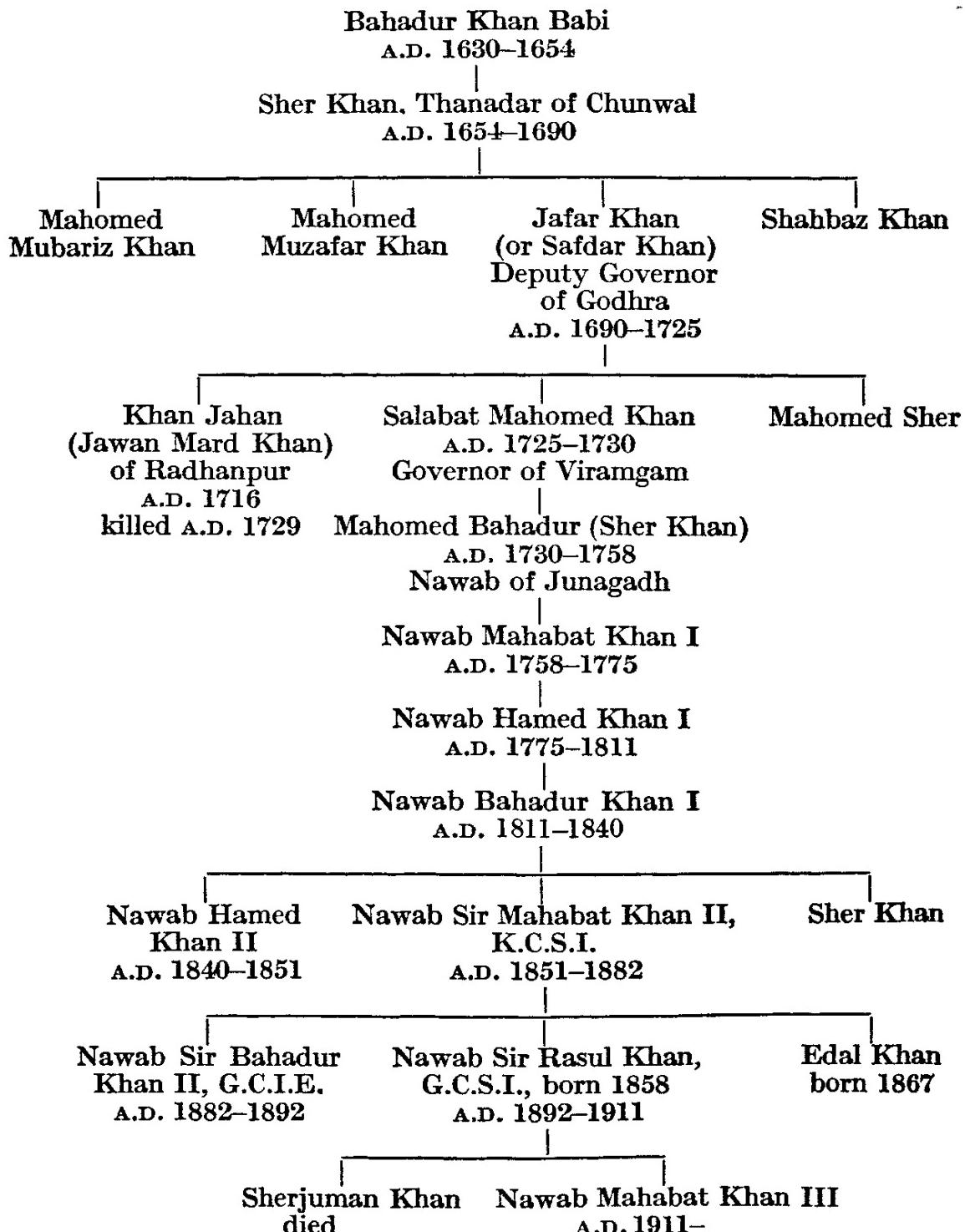
A.D. 1721. Asad Ali Khan.

APPENDIX IV

- A.D. 1728. Salabat Mahomed Khan Babi ; (Sher Khan Babi, deputy).
- A.D. 1728. Ghulam Mahya-ud-din Khan ; (Mir Ismail, deputy).
- A.D. 1728. Salabat Mahomed Khan Babi ; (Sher Khan Babi, deputy).
- A.D. 1733. Burhan-ul-Mulk ; (Sohrab Khan, deputy).
- A.D. 1735. Sadak Ali (deputy Governor).
- A.D. 1735. Mohsan Khan Khalwi.
- A.D. 1737. Mir Hazabar Ali Khan ; (Mamu Khan, deputy).
- A.D. 1738. Sher Khan Babi.
- A.D. 1738. Himat Ali Khan ; (Sher Khan Babi, deputy). Sher Khan Babi declared his independence, and in A.D. 1748 formally assumed the title of Nawab of Junagadh.

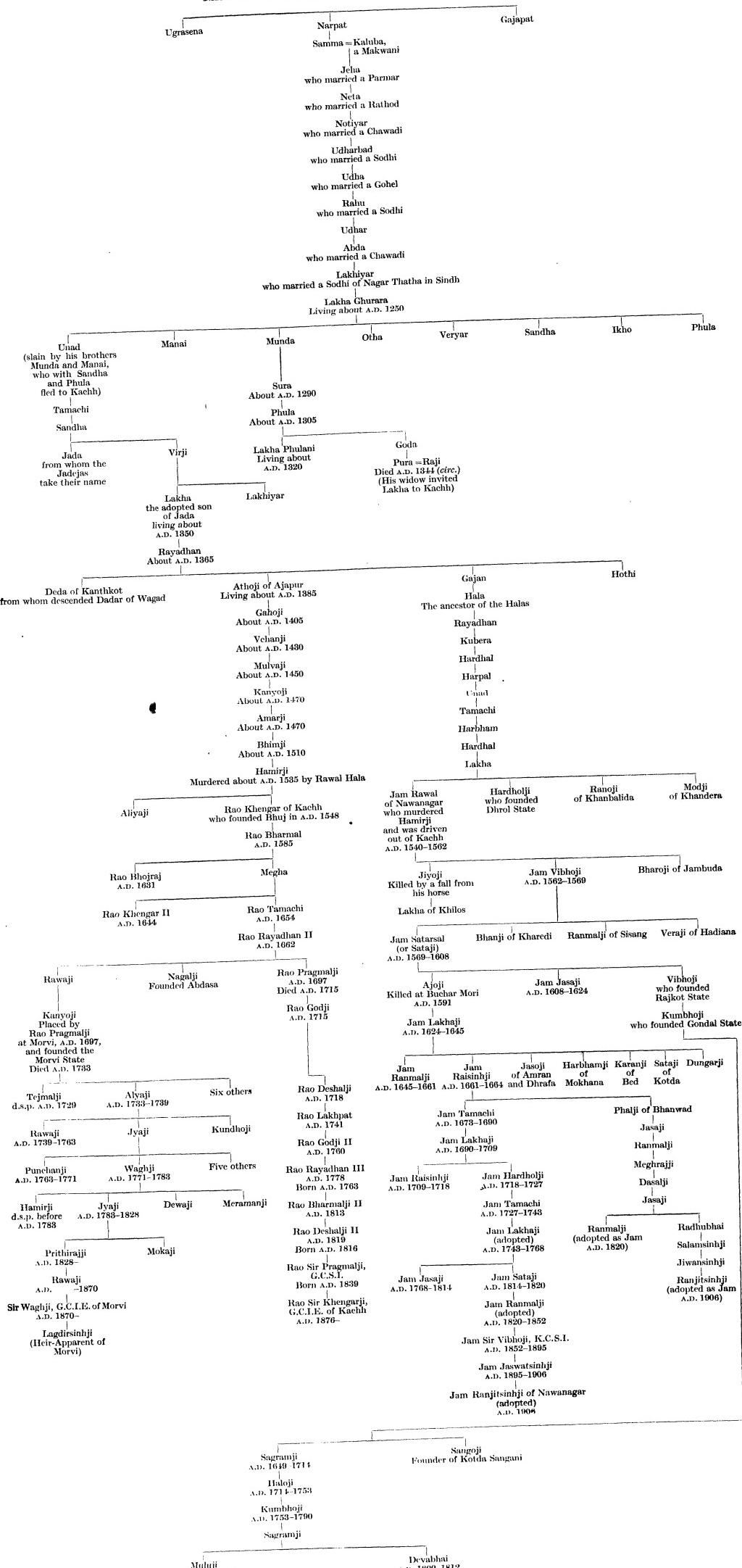
APPENDIX V

THE BABI RULERS OF JUNAGADH



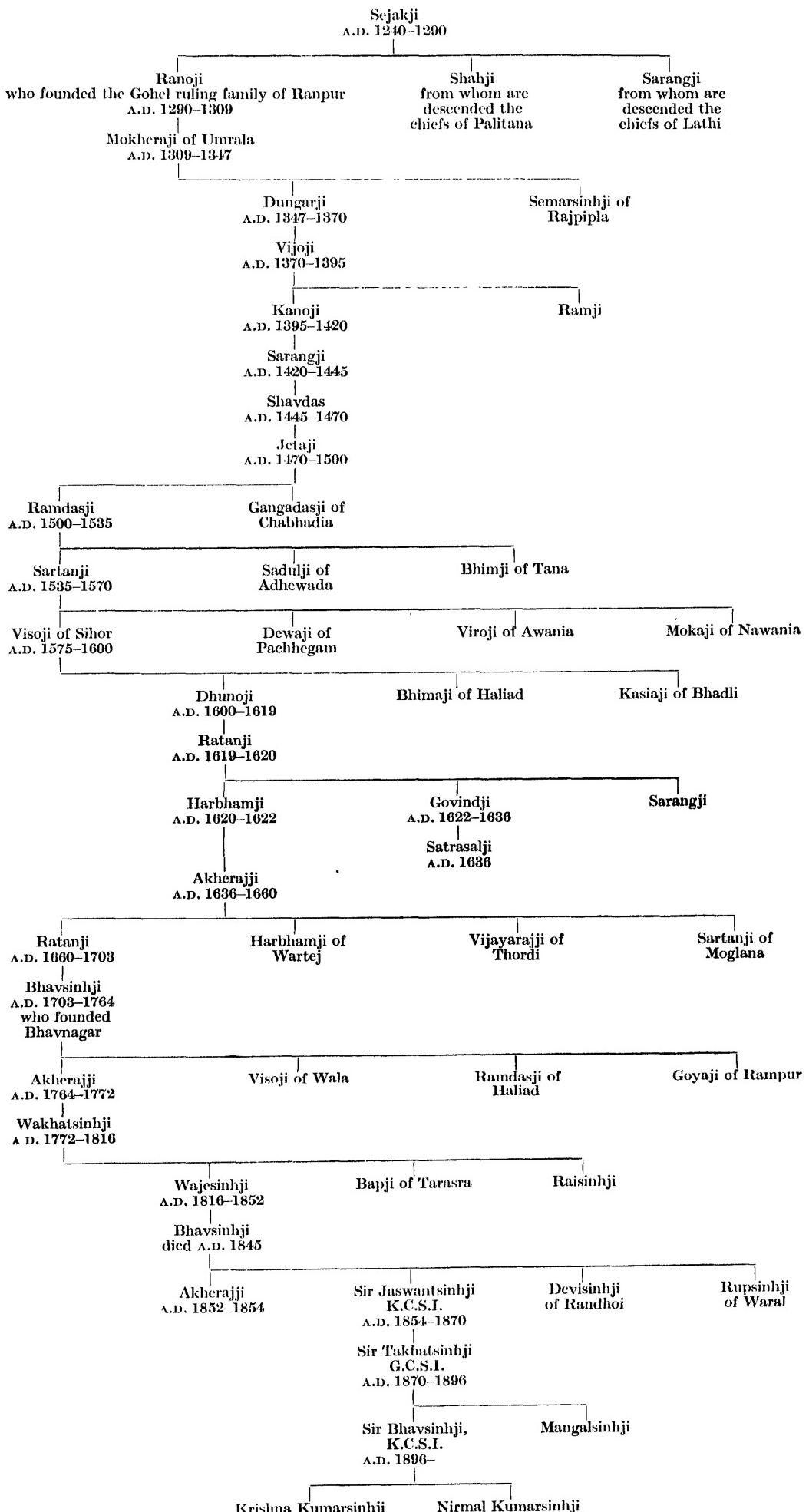
APPENDIX VI

THE JADEJA RAJPUTS OF KACHH AND HALAR



APPENDIX VII

THE GOHELS OF BHAVNAGAR



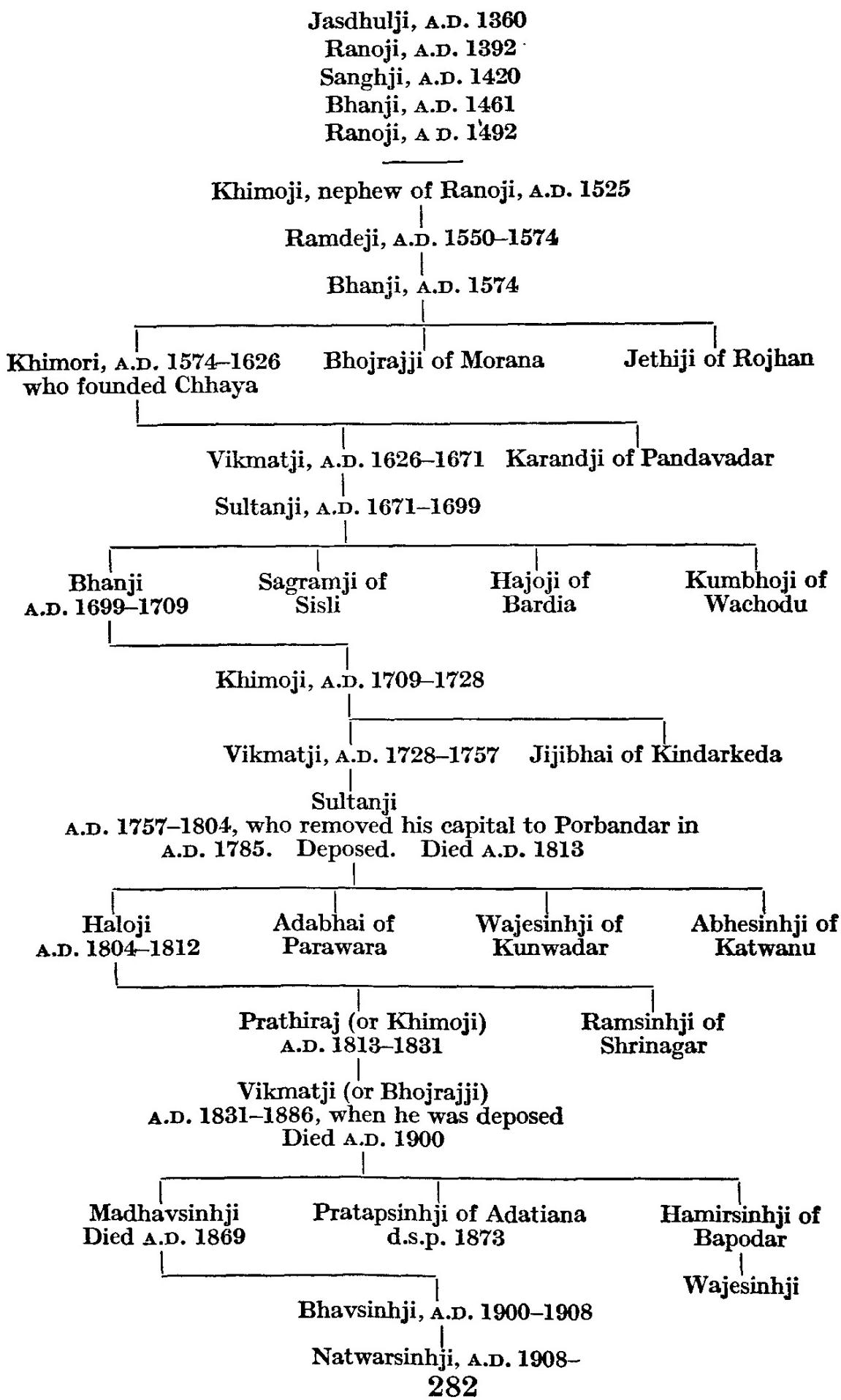
APPENDIX VIII

THE JETHWAS OF PORBANDAR (ALSO KNOWN AS JETWAD).

ALL accounts of the Jethwa genealogy differ greatly and variously. Colonel Watson records that in one account, 1048 regular descents are shown, and in another, 178 ! So many additions have apparently been made by Bards that it is impossible to determine what is genuine and what is not. The son of Hanuman, Makardhwaja, is supposed to have been the first Jethwa, and the tribe probably entered Saurashtra about the year A.D. 1000. The relationship from Rana to Rana cannot be ascertained, and so it is impossible to construct a "tree" until after the beginning of the sixteenth century.

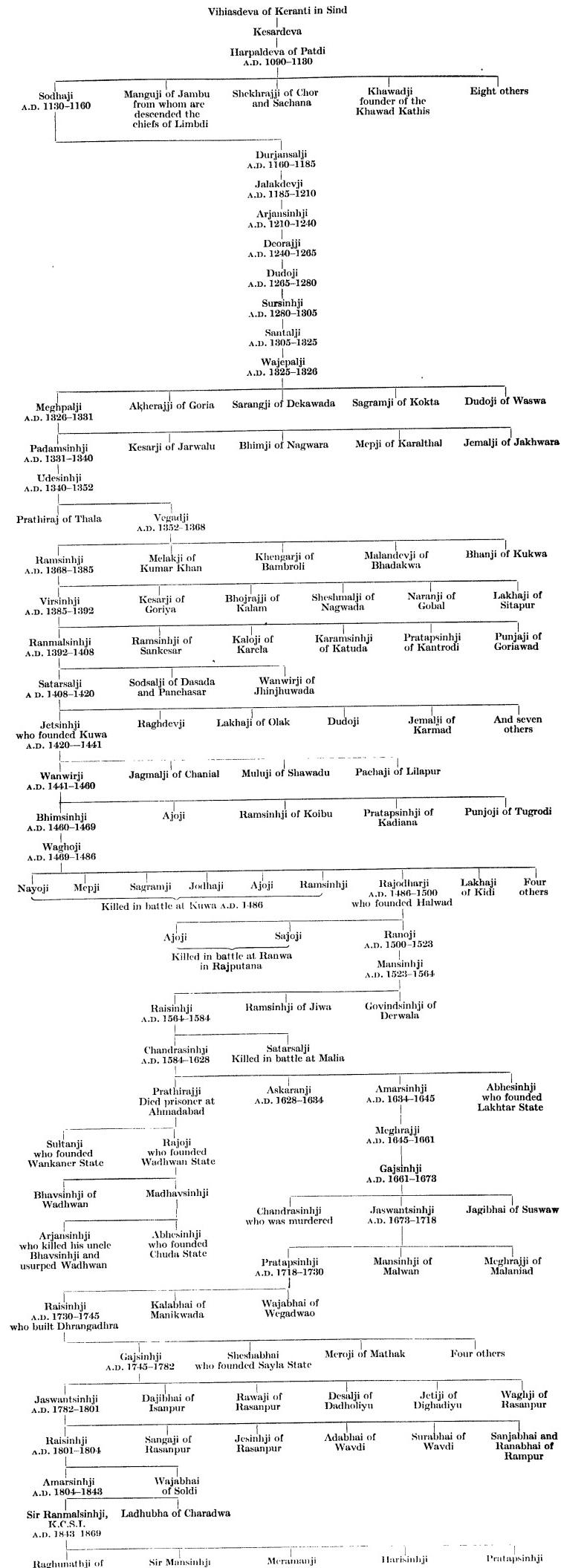
Sanghji	A.D. 1120.
Ranoji	A.D. 1150.
Nagji	A.D. 1155.
Bharmalji	A.D. 1170.
Bhanji	A.D. 1172.
Meji	A.D. 1179.
Nagji	A.D. 1190.
Vikioji	A.D. 1193, during whose time the Jethwas were expelled from Morvi.
Wajsiji	A.D. 1220.
Bhojrajji	A.D. 1245.
Ramdeji	A.D. 1270.
Ranoji	A.D. 1291.
Nagji	A.D. 1302.
Bhanji	A.D. 1307, during whose reign in A.D. 1313 Ghumli was overthrown by Jadeja Bamanioji. Ranpur now became the Jethwa capital.

APPENDIX VIII



APPENDIX IX

THE JHALAS OF JHALAWAD



APPENDIX X

POLITICAL Agents in Kathiawad. (The designation was changed in A.D. 1902 to "Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kathiawad.")

Captain R. Barnewall	A.D. 1820–1826
D. A. Blane, Esquire	A.D. 1828–1831
J. P. Willoughby, Esquire	A.D. 1831–1835
J. Erskine, Esquire	A.D. 1836–1839
D. A. Blane, Esquire	A.D. 1840–1841
A. Malet, Esquire	A.D. 1842–1845
Colonel W. Lang	A.D. 1845–1859
Captain J. T. Barr	A.D. 1859–1862
Colonel R. H. Keatinge, V.C. . . .	A.D. 1863–1867
Colonel W. W. Anderson	A.D. 1867–1874
S. B. Peile, Esquire	A.D. 1874–1878
Colonel L. C. Barton	A.D. 1878–1883
Colonel E. W. West	A.D. 1883–1885
Colonel J. W. Watson	A.D. 1886–1889
E. C. K. Ollivant, Esquire, C.I.E. (afterwards Sir Charles Ollivant, K.C.I.E.)	A.D. 1890–1895
Lieut.-Colonel J. M. Hunter, C.S.I. . . .	A.D. 1896–1901
Lieut.-Colonel W. P. Kennedy	A.D. 1901–1906
P. S. V. FitzGerald, Esquire, C.S.I. . . .	A.D. 1906–1908
C. H. A. Hill, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E. . . .	A.D. 1908–1912
J. Sladen, Esquire	A.D. 1912

* * * * *

Principals of the Rajkumar College :

Chester Macnaghten, Esquire	A.D. 1871–1896
C. W. Waddington, Esquire	A.D. 1896–1903
C. J. W. Mayne, Esquire	A.D. 1903

APPENDIX X

Judicial Assistants to the Agent to the Governor:

C. A. Kincaid, Esquire	.	.	A.D. 1902
H. D. Rendall, Esquire	.	.	A.D. 1906
G. D. French, Esquire	.	.	A.D. 1911
L. Graham, Esquire	.	.	A.D. 1914

* * * * *

Inspecting Officers, Imperial Service Troops:

Captain A. W. Forbes	.	.	A.D. 1890
Captain W. J. Peyton, C.M.G.	.	.	A.D. 1896
Captain J. Talbot	.	.	A.D. 1900
Captain F. Adams	.	.	A.D. 1905
Captain H. C. Kay	.	.	A.D. 1910
Major G. B. M. Sarel	.	.	A.D. 1913

APPENDIX XI

POLITICAL AGENTS IN CHARGE OF PRANTS SINCE A.D. 1902

Halar :

C. C. Watson, Esquire	A.D. 1902
J. E. B. Hotson, Esquire	A.D. 1903
F. W. Allison, Esquire	A.D. 1903
Major F. W. Wodehouse	A.D. 1904
Major H. G. Carnegy	A.D. 1905
Captain W. Beale	A.D. 1905
Captain H. W. Berthon	A.D. 1907
Captain F. de B. Hancock	A.D. 1908
Major W. M. P. Wood	A.D. 1912
Major C. F. Harold	A.D. 1913

Sorath :

Captain J. R. B. G. Carter	A.D. 1902
Captain W. Beale	A.D. 1904
F. W. Allison, Esquire	A.D. 1904
Major H. G. Carnegy	A.D. 1904
O. Rothfeld, Esquire	A.D. 1904
F. W. Allison, Esquire	A.D. 1904
Captain W. M. P. Wood	A.D. 1905
F. W. Allison, Esquire	A.D. 1905
R. G. Gordon, Esquire	A.D. 1907
F. W. Allison, Esquire	A.D. 1907
Major J. K. Condon	A.D. 1907
Major H. W. Berthon	A.D. 1909
Major J. R. B. G. Carter	A.D. 1909
Lieut. H. Wilberforce-Bell	A.D. 1912
Major T. A. F. R. Oldfield	A.D. 1914

APPENDIX XI

Jahlawad :

Major H. D. Merewether	.	.	.	A.D. 1902
Captain W. Beale	.	.	.	A.D. 1903
Colonel J. S. Ashby	.	.	.	A.D. 1903
Major H. D. Merewether	.	.	.	A.D. 1903
Captain W. Beale	.	.	.	A.D. 1904
Lieut.-Colonel J. Davies	.	.	.	A.D. 1905
Major F. W. Wodehouse	.	.	.	A.D. 1906
Major N. S. Coghill	.	.	.	A.D. 1908
Major W. M. P. Wood	.	.	.	A.D. 1911
Major C. F. Harold	.	.	.	A.D. 1912
Lieut.-Colonel J. R. B. G. Carter	.	.	.	A.D. 1913
W. C. Tudor-Owen, Esquire	.	.	.	A.D. 1914

Gohelwad :

(This Prant was abolished between January 1903 and December 1904 A.D.)

O. Rothfeld, Esquire	.	.	.	A.D. 1904
W. C. Tudor-Owen, Esquire	.	.	.	A.D. 1905
Captain H. W. Berthon	.	.	.	A.D. 1905
Major F. W. Wodehouse	.	.	.	A.D. 1906
Major W. Beale	.	.	.	A.D. 1907
Major H. W. Berthon	.	.	.	A.D. 1908
Major H. S. Strong	.	.	.	A.D. 1909
Lieut.-Colonel J. Davies	.	.	.	A.D. 1910
Major H. S. Strong	.	.	.	A.D. 1911
Captain A. S. Meek	.	.	.	A.D. 1912
W. P. Cowie, Esquire	.	.	.	A.D. 1914

APPENDIX XII

THE STATES OF THE FIRST THREE CLASSES IN KATHIAWAD AND THEIR RULERS, A.D. 1914

First Class :

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1. Junagadh . | H.H. Mahabat Khanji (minor), Nawab of |
| 2. Nawanagar . | H.H. Ranjitsinhji, Jam Saheb of |
| 3. Bhavnagar . | H.H. Sir Bhavsinhji, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of |
| 4. Porbandar . | H.H. Natwarsinhji, Rana of |
| 5. Dhrangadhra | H.H. Ghanshyamsinhji, Raj Saheb of |
| 6. Morvi . . | H.H. Sir Waghji, G.C.I.E., Thakor
Saheb of |
| 7. Gondal. . | H.H. Sir Bhagwatsinhji, G.C.I.E., LL.D.,
M.D., Thakor Saheb of |

Second Class :

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1. Wankaner . | Raj Saheb Sir Amarsinhji, K.C.I.E., of |
| 2. Palitana . | Thakor Saheb (minor), Bahadursinhji of |
| 3. Dhrol . | Thakor Saheb Daulatsinhji of |
| 4. Limbdi . | Thakor Saheb Daulatsinhji of |
| 5. Rajkot . | Thakor Saheb Lakhaji Raj of |
| 6. Wadhwan . | Thakor Saheb Jaswatsinhji of |

Third Class :

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. Lakhtar . | Thakor Saheb Karansinhji, C.S.I., of |
| 2. Sayla . | Thakor Saheb Wakhatsinhji, C.S.I., of |
| 3. Chuda . | Thakor Saheb Jorawarsinhji of |
| 4. Wala . | Thakor Saheb Wakhatsinhji of |
| 5. Jasdan . | Khachar Shri Vajsur Odha, Chief of |
| 6. Manavadar . | Khan Shri Fatehdin Khanji, Chief of |
| 7. Thana Devli . | Wala Shri Laxman Meram, C.I.E., Chief of |
| 8. Wadia . . | Wala Shri Baba Jivna, Chief of |

APPENDIX XIII

THE PORTUGESE GOVERNORS OF DIU FROM A.D. 1535-1548, AND FROM A.D. 1900-1914

A.D. 1535. Manuel Caetano de Sousa, Captain.

A.D. 1538. Antonio da Silveira e Menezes, Captain.

A.D. 1542. Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda, Captain.

A.D. 1546. Dom Joao de Mascarenhas, Captain.

* * * * *

A.D. 1900. Joao Herculano Rodrigues de Moura, Captain, Royal Navy.

A.D. 1907. Carlos d'Almeida Pessanha, Captain of Cavalry.

A.D. 1908. Joao de Freitas Branco, Major of Infantry. ☐

A.D. 1911. Augusto de Paiva Bobela Mota, Lieutenant, National Fleet.

A.D. 1912. Raul Fernandes Correa do Amaral, Lieutenant, National Fleet.

THE following works have been consulted by the author, for the valuable aid acquired through reading all of which he desires to express his humble acknowledgments :

- “ The Early History of India,” by Vincent Smith.
- “ Indian Chronology,” by Miss Duff.
- “ Albiruni’s India.”
- “ Indian Antiquities ” (vol. xv).
- “ Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society,” 1890, 1899.
- “ Saurashtra no Itihas,” by Bhagwanlal Sampatram.
- “ Archæological Survey of Western India,” vol. ii (Burgess).
- “ Tarikh-i-Sorath,” by Dewan Ranchodji Amarji.
- “ The History of Gujarat,” by Sir Edward Bayley.
- “ Gazetteers ” of Kathiawad States, by Colonel J. W. Watson.
- “ Forty Years of the Rajkumar College,” by H.H. Sir Bhav-sinhji, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of Bhavnagar.
- “ The Outlaws of Kathiawar,” by C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O.
- “ The Ras Mala,” by Kinloch Forbes, I.C.S.

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The photograph of Diu and the list of Portugese Governors have been supplied by the courtesy of the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay, and of His Excellency the Governor of Diu.

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